UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE
19711

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
204 MEMORIAL HALL
PHONE: 302-738-2361

July 20, 1983

Eric P. Newman
400 Washington Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63102

Dear Mr. Newman:

Reviewing volume 22 of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (Jan., 1983), I said that I believed Franklin wrote the essay on "the Devices on the Continental Bills of Credit. . . " in the Pa. Gazette for Sept. 20, 1775. Now I am gathering together a number of his visual creations, including the devices ~~on the~~ currency ~~he printed~~ he created for for a lecture on "Franklin's Democratic Esthetic." For that purpose, I would like to purchase slides (35mm. black&white) of some currency in your collection.

Could I purchase slides of the following Continental Currency:

1. the $1.00 (motto "Depressa Resurgit")
2. the $2.00 (motto "Tribulatio Ditat")
3. the $3.00 (motto "Exitus in Dubio est")
4. the $4.00 (motto "Aut mors aet vita decora")
5. the $5.00 (motto "Sustine vel abstine")
6. the $6.00 (motto "Perseverando")
7. the $7.00 (motto "Serenabit")
8. the $8.00 (motto "Majora menoribus consonant")
9. the $20.00 (motto "Vi concitate")
10. the $30.00 (motto "Si Recte facies")
11. The back of the $20.00 or $30.00 (motto "Cessante vento conquescemus")
12. the ~~back~~ front of the 1/6th, or 1/3rd, or 1/2, or 2/3 (motto "Fugio; Mind Your Business")
13. The back of the 1/6th, or 1/3rd, or 1/2, or 2/3 (motto "American Congress; we are one" within an interlocked series of 13 rings with the names of the colonies)

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Yours faithfully,

J. A. Leo Lemay

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

July 26, 1983

Mr. J. A. Leo Lemay
University of Delaware
College of Arts & Science
Dept. of English
204 Memorial Hall
Newark, DE 19711

Dear Mr. Lemay:

With respect to your July 20, 1983 letter, it would be much simpler for us to send you excellent photocopies of the notes you asked for if you are in a position to have slides made from the photocopies. If, however, you wish the slides made directly from the pieces, we will do it. It is just as easy to have them done in color as in black and white, and I would recommend that as the difference in cost is inconsequential. We will only ask reimbursement for film and slide costs.

I have always realized the probability that Franklin wrote the essay on the Devices on the Continental Bills of Credit which was published in the Pennsylvania Gazette on September 20, 1775, but I had no proof.

I presume you are familiar with my articles and book on the subject, including "Franklin Making Money More Plentiful" in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 115 No. 5 (1971), Pages 341-349; "Sources of Emblems and Mottoes on Continental Currency and the Fugio Cent" in The Numismatist, Vol. 79 (December 1966), Pages 1587-1598; and "Early Paper Money of America" (Racine, 1976), Pages 23, 47 and 48.

We are glad to be helpful.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE
19711

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
204 MEMORIAL HALL
PHONE: 302-738-2361

July 29, 1983

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Eric P. Newman Numismatic Education Society
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Dear Mr. Newman:

Thank you for your very kind letter of July 26th. I happily accept your recommendation that I have the slides made in color. I had foolishly thought they might be clearer in black and white. Would you please have them made for me?

I am indeed familiar with your several articles and have my own copy of your magnum opus The Early Paper Money of America. Your article "Sources of Emblems and Mottoes on Continental Currency and the Fugio Cent" is a fundamental work for Franklin's expertise in iconology. Did you notice that in volume 22 of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (facing p. 358), the editors publish Franklin's original sketches for the interlocked chain of circles on the back of the fractional continental currency of 1776? They also publish his original sketch for the front of the 1775 $20 bill and the motto for the back of the $20 and $30 bill. (I include a xerox.)

By chance I had just gone through your Early Paper Money of America again last night when I focused for the first time on that £15 note from the South Carolina emission of March 6, 1776. The emblem is a beautiful engraving of America as a rattlesnake fighting Britain as a lion rampant. (As you know, Franklin's cut snake cartoon on May 9, 1754, first identified America as a rattlesnake.) Could I also purchase a slide of that beautiful bill (which you illustrate on p. 369)?

Yours faithfully,

Leo

J. A. Leo Lemay
H. F. du Pont Winterthur Professor

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

August 4, 1983

Res: 302 [illegible] 7167
sometimes works at Winterthur
302 656859[illegible]
302-738-8011 office

Mr. J. A. Leo Lemay
University of Delaware
College of Arts & Science
Dept. of English
204 Memorial Hall
Newark, DE 19711

Dear Leo:

Your letter of July 29, 1983 was a delight to receive.

When I read your letter of July 20, 1983, I immediately obtained a copy of your review of Volume 22 of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin and your review adds factual material which I consider so important that I think I will write an update article on the emblems and mottoes for a numismatic publication.

There are a few matters on which I would like to obtain your suggestions:

1. To whom might I write to obtain a photocopy or picture of the verso as well as the front of the sketches of the emblems and mottoes published in the Papers of Benjamin Franklin. You sent me a photocopy of the front from the book itself. My purpose is to show the handwriting used on the "resolutions on trade" which are on the other side.

2. Do you have the reference to the comment by William Browne with respect to the devices and mottoes on Continental Currency?

I will be grateful for your cooperation.

Cordially,

Eric P. Newman

jah

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

August 4, 1983

Mr. J. A. Leo Lemay
Univeristy of Delaware
College of Arts & Science
Dept. of English
204 Memorial Hall
Newark, DE 19711

Dear Leo:

With respect to your letter of July 29, 1983, I will make the slides myself on my next photographic binge.

In addition to the South Carolina rattlesnake design, I believe you will like the Georgia design which I show on page 110 and 114. If either of these snakes bite you, please use the rattlesnake leaf which Franklin illustrated in his Almanac and which I illustrated in my article on Franklin's Nature Printing.

You can fully understand how numismatics had lead me into so many fascinating research fields.

Cordially,

Eric P. Newman

jah

August 9, 1983

Mr. J. A. Leo Lemay
University of Delaware
204 Memorial Hall
Newark, Delaware 19711

Dear Leo:

Our talk prior to your vacation was truly stimulating. You are so nice to be willing to help me gather various photocopies for the article I will write. I do not need photographs if the photocopies are fine quality.

The fascinating fact is that the Franklin sketch is actually used on the Continental Currency with the middle word omitted and the alternate motto is used both on an adjacent emblem on the $30 bill and on the back of the $20 bill.

Here is what I need in photocopies:

1. Design of circles without text (no back text exists).
2. Design of circles with text (no back text exists).
3. Photocopy of emblem sketch with script motto below.
4. Verso of sheet containing item 3 above.
5. 68 line poem of Joseph Stansbury.
6. Text of writing by Joseph Brown attributing emblems and mottos to Franklin.
7. On the verso of the "Proposed Resolutions of Thanks" (p. 53-54, Vol. 22, Papers of B.F.) is a calculation of the Continental Currency emission. It is on one of the sheets for the Resolutions.

These would be the backbone of my article. I donsider the findings to be of unusual importance.

Thanks again for your help.

Cordially,

Eric P. Newman

EPN:bgw

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE
19711

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
204 MEMORIAL HALL
PHONE: 302-738-2361

August 15, 1983

Dear Eric:

Thank you very much for your two good letters of August 4. I believe now that I will sometime soon try to take the time to write up a piece on Franklin and the iconology of the snake as America, so I would indeed also like a slide of the Georgia design which you illustrate on p. 110. When I finish the piece, I'll write and ask your permission to use the illustrations. Meanwhile, I leave for Indiana in two weeks and I'm hoping to use your slides at my talk there!

When we talked on the telephone, you asked me for three items of information.

1. William Browne (who graduated from Harvard in 1755, so there is a sketch of him in Clifford K. Shipton's Harvard Graduates) wrote Samuel Curwen on Jan. 8, 1776, that the devices on the Continental bills were "the inventions of Dr. Franklin." The "Gen. Robinson" who showed him the bills (and was probably Browne's source of information) is evidently James Robertson (1720?-1788), an old colonial hand who has a sketch in the DNB. Ref.: Samuel Curwen, Journal and Letters, 1775-84 (New York: Francis, 1842), p. 46. (xeroxes included)

2. Joseph Stansbury's poem "The History of Peru" is found in a manuscript volume of poems by Stansbury & Odell in the Peter Force Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. In a note to the poem Stansbury says that the "Explanation of the Devices and mottos of the Continental Bills of Credit in the Pennsylvania Gazette" was "supposed to be written by the celebrated Dr. Franklin." My former student Pastora San Juan Cafferty edited the volume for his dissertation: "Loyalist Rhapsodies: The Poetry of Stansbury and Odell," Ph.D.: The George Washington University, 1971, pp. 157-63 (xerox included).

3. Francis Hopkinson's essay "On the Use and Abuse of Mottos," Supplement to the Pennsylvania Magazine for 1775, pp. 587-89, is reprinted, in a revised and shortened form, as "On Mottos" in his Miscellaneous Observations and Occasional Writings, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1792), I: 42-46. (xerox included)

We had a pleasant week's vacation at Chincoteague, Va. (although I really think of it as the children's vacation, since I am not especially fond of the beach), and now I am happily back at work.

Cordially,

Leo

J. A. Leo Lemay

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE
19711

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
204 MEMORIAL HALL
PHONE: 302-738-2361

August 17, 1983

Dear Eric:

I just received your letter of the ninth yesterday. Last night I pulled duplicates of the slides that the APS sent me. The only other slides I purchased from the APS are of the Nini medallion and a sketch of something that looks like an airplane/glider. (Too bad Franklin didn't pursue that idea further.)

I would enjoy receiving an offprint of your essay when you publish it.

Cordially,

Leo

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

THE LIBRARY–105 SOUTH FIFTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19106 · Phone (215) [redacted]
MArket 7-0706

Edward C. Carter, II Librarian

Aug. 23, 1983

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Numismatic Education Society
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Mr. Newman:

Dr. Lemay at the University of Delaware informed me of your interest in several items from our Franklin collection. I am enclosing xerox copies of two of the items: the reverse of the "VI VENTORUM CONCITATAE" sheet; and Franklin's currency calculations. The draft designs of the circles are drawn on two separate sheets, both the same size: 13-1/2 long, 9-1/4 wide.

I hope that this will provide you with some useful information. The copies are compliments of the A.P.S.

Sincerely,
Stephen Catlett
Stephen Catlett
Manuscript Libn.

c.c. Lemay

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106

LIBRARY
105 South Fifth Street
Phone: (215) MA 7-0706

Mr. Newman -

The enclosed xerox should give you a better picture of Franklin's circles.

Glad to be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,
Stephen Catlett

Res tel
215 284 2325

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

August 29,1983

Mr.Stephen Catlett
American Philosophical Society
105 S. 5th St.
Philadelphia,Penna 19106

Dear Mr. Catlett:

Many thanks for your 8/23/83 letter with the photocopies and data from the Franklin Collection. They have provided excellent proof for the article I am now writing on currency design background.

In Franklin Papers 50 ii,45 I am unable to read the portion of the back with

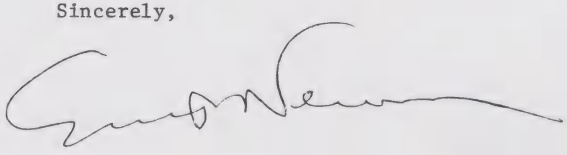
20 -----	60 -----
5 -----	15 ----
25 -----	75
50	150

I realize that the right side numbers are three times the left side numbers,but canntot decipher the text.

As I explained over the telephone I need photocopies of the two complete pages or sheets with the sketches of the multiple circles design and hope they are already sent.

I am most grateful for your help and that of Dr.Lemay.

Sincerely,



From the desk of JOSEPH R. LASSER

8/30/83

Dear Eric —

Here's the Robinson data. I look forward to the poem —

All the Best

Joe

ROBERTSON, JAMES. Was associated with his brother Alexander, who, like himself, was a Loyalist, and with John Trumbull, who was a Whig, in the publication of the "Norwich Packet," at Norwich, Connecticut. This connection, which commenced in 1773, ceased soon after the British troops took possession of New York, in 1776, and the Robertsons went to that city, and printed the "Royal American Gazette" during the remainder of the war. After the peace, both James and Alexander published a paper at Shelburne, Nova Scotia; but Alexander soon died. James removed to Scotland, where he was alive in 1810, and engaged in printing and bookselling at Edinburgh.

ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER, JR. Of Pennsylvania. In the military service of the Crown. At the peace, accompanied by his family of four persons, and by six servants, he went from New York to Shelburne, Nova Scotia, where the Crown granted him fifty acres of land, one town, and one water lot. His losses in consequence of his loyalty were estimated at £2000. In 1834 he fell through the ice, at Shelburne, and continued in the water nearly an hour. Though he recovered his speech and recollection, the shock was fatal. His age was seventy-nine. He was the last of sixteen Loyalist captains who were original grantees of that city.

ROBERTSON, JAMES. Of Georgia. At the Revolutionary era a Solicitor in Chancery. In the effort to reëstablish the Royal Government, in 1779, he was appointed Attorney-General, a member of the Council, a Commissioner of Claims, and of the Board to take possession of the negroes and other property of active Whigs. Attainted of treason, and estate confiscated. At the peace he left the country. He was Chief Justice of the Virgin Islands many years, and died at Tortola, in 1818, aged sixty-seven.

ROBERTSON, WILLIAM. Of New York. Went to Shelburne, Nova Scotia, and was a merchant there. Removed to Barrington, in the same Province. He possessed a wonderful memory, and was consulted the country round. His wife was Sarah, daughter of Gabriel Van Norden. His son Robert is now (1861) a member of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia.

ROBIE, THOMAS. A merchant of Marblehead, Massachusetts. He went first to Halifax, and thence to England, but returned to the United States, and died at Salem. His son, Samuel Bradstreet Robie, of Halifax, was appointed Solicitor-General of Nova Scotia in 1815; Speaker of the House of Assembly in 1817, 1819, and 1820; member of the Council in 1824; and Master of the Rolls in 1825; and died at that city January, 1858, in his eighty-eighth year.

ROBINSON, BEVERLEY. Of New York. He was a son of the Hon. John Robinson, of Virginia, who was President of that Colony on the retirement of Governor Gooch. He emigrated to New York, and married Susanna, daughter of Frederick Phillips, who owned an immense landed estate on the Hudson River. By this connection Mr. Robinson became rich. When the Revolutionary controversy commenced, he was living upon that portion of the Phillips estate which had been given to his wife, and there he desired to remain in the quiet enjoyment of country life, and in the management of his large domain. That such was his inclination, is asserted by the late President Dwight, and is fully confirmed by circumstances, and by his descendants. He was opposed to the measures of the Ministry, gave up the use of imported merchandise, and clothed himself and his family in fabrics of domestic manufacture. But he was also opposed to the separation of the Colonies from the mother country. Still, he wished to take no part in the conflict of arms. The importunity of friends overruled his own judgment, and he entered the military service of the Crown. His standing entitled him to high rank. Of the Loyal American Regiment, raised principally in New York, by himself, he was accordingly commissioned the Colonel. He also commanded the corps called the Guides and Pioneers. Of the former, or the Loyal Americans, his son Beverley was Lieutenant-Colonel, and Thomas Barclay Major. Besides his active duty in the field, Colonel Robinson was employed to conduct several matters of consequence;

and he figures conspicuously in cases of defection from the Whig cause. In the real or supposed plan of the Whig leaders of Vermont, to return to their allegiance, or to form some other and hardly less objectionable alliance with officers of the Crown, he was consulted, and opened a correspondence. In the treason of Arnold, his name and acts occur continually; and it is supposed that he was acquainted with the traitor's purpose before it was known to Sir Henry Clinton, or any other person. And it appears certain that Arnold addressed him a letter on the subject of going over to the Royal side, before soliciting the command of West Point. As the plot matured, he accompanied André to Dobbs's Ferry to meet Arnold, according to a previous arrangement; but an accident prevented an interview, and both returned to New York. Subsequently he went up the Hudson in the *Vulture*, for the purpose of furthering the objects in view; but failed in his most material designs. Arnold now sent Smith on board of the *Vulture* with a letter, which was delivered to Colonel Robinson, and on the faith of which André went on shore. The treacherous Whig had been expected on board of the ship in person, and it has been said that Robinson was much opposed to André's trusting himself to the honor "of a man who was seeking to betray his country." But the zealous young officer would not listen to the prudent counsel, and determined to embark upon the duty from which he never returned. That unfortunate gentleman was captured on the 23d of September, 1780, and on the 26th was conveyed a prisoner to Colonel Robinson's own house, which, with the lands adjacent, had been confiscated by the State, which Arnold had occupied as his head-quarters, and of which Washington was then a temporary occupant. After André's trial and conviction, Sir Henry Clinton sent three Commissioners to the Whig camp, in the hope of producing a change in the determination of Washington, and of showing André's innocence; to this mission Robinson was attached in the character of a witness. He had previously addressed the Commander-in-Chief on the subject of André's release; and, as he and Washington had been personal friends until political events had produced a separation, he took occasion to speak of their former acquaintance in his letter.

Colonel Robinson, at the peace, with a part of his family, went to England. His name appears as a member of the first Council of New Brunswick, but he never took his seat at the Board. His wife is included in the Confiscation Act of New York, and the whole estate derived from her father passed from the family. The value of her interest may be estimated from the fact, that the British Government granted her husband the sum of £17,000 sterling, which, though equal to eighty thousand dollars, was considered only a partial compensation. After going to England, Colonel Robinson lived in retirement. He was unhappy; and did not conceal the sufferings which preyed upon his spirits. He resided at Thornbury, near Bath, and there closed his days, in 1792, aged seventy. Susanna, his wife, died at the same place, in 1822, at the age of ninety-four. His eldest daughter, Susan Maria, died in England, in 1833, aged seventy-two. His daughter Joanna, widow of the Rev. H. Slade, Vicar of Thornbury, died at the house of her brother, Sir William Henry Robinson, Cheltenham, in 1832. The Robinson House, which was his residence on the Hudson, and which has become of historical interest, is still standing. It is situated within two or three miles of West Point, and on the opposite, or eastern, side of the river. It is (1847) the property of Richard D. Arden. The interior remains much as it was when its original possessors, and Washington, Arnold, and André were its permanent or temporary occupants. The rooms are low, the timbers are large, and many of them are uncovered; and the fireplaces are ornamented with polished tiles. In the chamber which was used by Mrs. Arnold, nothing has been changed; and over the mantel and in the wood-work are carved the words, "G. Wallis, Lieut. VI. Mass. Regt."

Colonel Robinson's descendants in New Brunswick possess some relics of the olden time, not destitute of interest. Among them is a silver tea-urn, of rich and massive work-

manship, and of considerable value, which was the present of an English gentleman, who was the Colonel's guest in New York before the Revolution. This urn, according to the family account, was the first article of the kind in use in America. Prince William Henry, who was afterwards King William the Fourth, enjoyed Colonel Robinson's hospitality in New York at a later day, and the circumstance may have contributed something to the advancement of the family. The Robinsons were unquestionably immediate sufferers from the events which drove them into exile. Towards the Loyalists, the British Government evinced much liberality, and, if viewed as a body, the compensation which they received, probably, fully covered their losses. The aggregate of the money grants, it cannot be mentioned too often, was but little short of sixteen millions of dollars; while large tracts of lands, pensions, half-pay, and offices with handsome salaries, and held upon a life-tenure, were freely bestowed. Yet individuals who possessed estates of unfixed or prospective value, or who were unable to exhibit sufficient proof of their claims, were losers. But, on the other hand, the Loyalists who owed as much as the property which they had in possession was worth, and yet claimed and received of the Government precisely as though they owed nothing, were gainers.

The family of which we are speaking belonged to the class first mentioned. But in considering the present value of Mrs. Robinson's portion of the Phillips Manor, it ought not to be overlooked that no inconsiderable part of it arises from the success of the Whigs of the Revolution, and the turn of the very events which its original proprietors resisted. The Rebels of 1776 made New York an independent, — nay, more, — the Empire State. Had the "*old families*" continued their rule; had the thirteen Colonies continued dependent; had the resources of the American continent been developed only as the mother country permitted; had population, wealth, the facilities for transportation, manufactures, and commerce increased only as in Colonial possessions they ever have, and still do, —

how much would three quarters of a century of mere time, of additional years of Colonial vassalage, have added to the value of the Manor? The descendants of the Loyalists, then, in estimating the worth of the estates of their fathers, which passed under the Confiscation Acts, are to be precluded from every benefit derived from the glorious issue of the rebellion; and they are to be confined in their computations to the actual value of wilderness lands at the time, adding the probable increase since, had the British Empire not been dismembered in 1783. It is admitted, however, that Colonel Robinson was not amply compensated in money by the Government for which he sacrificed fortune, home, and his native land. But from the account which follows, of the distinction attained by his children and grandchildren, it will be seen, that, though deprived of their inheritance, they have not been without other and substantial recompense.

Robinson, Beverley. Son of the senior Beverley Robinson, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Loyal American Regiment commanded by his father. Was a graduate of Columbia College, New York, and at the beginning of the Revolutionary troubles was a student of law in the office of James Duane. His wife, Nancy, whom he married during the war, was the daughter of the Rev. Henry Barclay, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, and sister of Colonel Thomas Barclay, who is noticed in these pages. At the evacuation of New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson was placed at the head of a large number of Loyalists who embarked for Shelburne, Nova Scotia, and who laid out that place in a very handsome and judicious manner, in the hope of its becoming a town of consequence and business. The harbor of Shelburne is reputed to be one of the best in North America, but though the population rapidly rose to about twelve thousand persons, the expectations of the projectors of the enterprise were not realized, and many abandoned Shelburne for other parts of British America. Robinson went to New Brunswick, and resided principally at and near the city of St. John. His deprivations and sufferings, for a considerable time after leaving New

Loyalists of
the American
Revolution
by
Lorenzo
Sabine

Originally Published
Boston, 1864

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

THE LIBRARY–105 SOUTH FIFTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19106 · Phone (215) [redacted]
MArket 7-0706

Edward C. Carter, II Librarian

Sept. 1, 1983

Eric P. Newman
Numismatic Education Society
6450 Cecil Ave.
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Mr. Newman:

I don't think that I have a definitive answer to your question about the Franklin handwriting. I am enclosing additional xerox copies of the pertinent page, in three different exposures, to give you perhaps a better look. It seems to me that it might read: 20"_ in.; 5 to "Sale or date" (I am unsure); 25 "left." As for the other figures I am not sure either. I hope that you might be able to tell from these copies. I had our Associate Librarian, and former manuscript librarian for 30 years, look at it and he was not sure either. You know the context better, of course, so perhaps you will be able to decipher now.

Sorry that I cannot say definitely.

Sincerely,

Stephen Catlett
Manuscript Libn.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106

LIBRARY
105 South Fifth Street
Phone: (215) MA 7-0706

Sept. 6, 1983

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Numismatic Education Society
6450 Cecil Ave.
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Mr. Newman:

The correct citation to the two pages with Franklin's drawings of the circle emblems is: Franklin Papers, Vol. 58, Folio 151.

Sincerely,

Stephen Catelt

Stephen Cateltt
Manuscript Libn.

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

September 6, 1983

Dr. J. A. Leo Lemay
University of Delaware
College of Arts & Science
Dept. of English
204 Memorial Hall
Newark, DE 19711

Dear Leo:

Because of your kind cooperation, I am sending you a copy of my article, along with its illustrations, on the 13 link ring design, etc..

If you care to read it, I would appreciate any corrections you may wish to make. Through your help I have received wonderful cooperation from Mr. Catlett.

You will note that in the poem by Stansbury, I have made many changes in the explanation which differ from Mrs. Cafferty.

I hope your lecture on the emblems was a great success and, as soon as I finish the current project, we will talk further about additional study in the field.

My kindest regards and thanks.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

Encl.

Fed Sch

Sept 6. 1983

Neil Harris
ANA
Colo Springs, Colo

Dear Neil

You were very kind to give me the opportunity to fill some pages for the November 1983 Numismatist without seeing what I am enclosing. I think I have a most interesting subject and hope I am convincing. Your editorial suggestions are always welcome. I have rewritten the text at least four times by hand and hope you can read this last draft. Since you are going to set the type at the ANA I hope I can have the opportunity to proof read the galleys.

As I have done before, I will let Coin World publish this article after you have lead time.

I believe the two illustrations of the 13 link design and the one with scrabble and the emblem should each occupy a full page as they are of major importance. The other illustrations can be of such size as you feel is best.

I have not had so much excitement in research since the 1804 dollar controversy in 1962.

I have only mentioned the funding to you and Ken and to three others who helped me. If we move fast no one should beat the Numismatist and yours truly out of the pleasure of publishing it.

In due course the illustrations should be returned.

Cordially,

Eric

Sept 10 1983

Neil Harris
A.N.A

Re: Franklin's Links

Dear Neil:

I think you will enjoy a wise crack added to p. 12 of the ms. — a terrible pun which you may want to work into a subtitle.

A few improvements in the article have been suggested and are necessary. You may have more.

I enclose revisions in red of old pages 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 20 and 22 and a new page 4A. You may discard the old pages which are now needed.

I feel I should eliminate the illustration of the sun with rays. It is not referred to in the text and is not really important. What do you think

If there are any other questions please advise. I await the proofs to check.

My best to all of you

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE
19711

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
204 MEMORIAL HALL
PHONE: 302-738-2361

September 12, 1983

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Eric P. Newman Numismatic Education Society
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, Mo. 63105

Dear Eric:

I read your new essay with admiration and appreciation. Thank you for allowing me to do so.

I don't really have any suggestions, but I don't recall offhand seeing in your various publications any reference to the engraver of the 1775 paper currency. If this is so, it might be useful to your readers to note that Clarence S. Brigham, in Paul Revere's Engravings, 2nd ed., (New York: Atheneum, 1969), pp. 238-40, claimed that James Smither engraved them. But this, of course, is not really pertinent to your good, new budget of information.

Cordially

J. A. Leo Lemay

David Rittenhouse did 36 border cuts which is four for each of nine denoms. This didn't include the emblem cuts. Rittenhouse was able to do it himself. Smither was ~~disloyal to~~ the British ~~at that time~~ later, but Brigham is ~~wrong on Smither~~; also Dunlap ~~is wrong~~.

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

September 19, 1983

Dr. J. A. Leo Lemay
Department of English
University of Delaware
Newark, DE 19711

Dear Dr. Lemay:

Thank you for your poignant suggestion that I include the artisans who cut the devices. I enclose my new section on it. There will be more footnotes to cover it.

It has occurred to me that I would like to send a preliminary draft of the Stansbury poem notes to Pastora San Juan Cafferty as she did the basics on the interpretation. Does the University have her present address, or do you? If so, please advise me.

Thanks for all of your encouragement.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

September 28, 1983

George Washington University
2121 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20013

Gentlemen:

I would be appreciative if you could send me the address of Pastora San Juan Cafferty who was an undergraduate about 1964, and who received her doctorate at your university about 1971.

Cafferty was her married name in 1971, so that at some time previously her name could have been Pastora San Juan. Your cooperation will be very much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Eric P. Newman

jah

THE NUMISMATIST
official publication of the
American Numismatic Association
P.O. Box 2366 · Colorado Springs · Colorado 80901-2366
(303)632-2646

October 4, 1983

N. NEIL HARRIS
Editor
BARBARA J. GREGORY
Associate Editor
G. LEE HUDSON
Assistant Editor
LISA A. SUNDERLIN
Editorial Assistant

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric:

Enclosed is the second draft of your manuscript with the changes you have suggested. Your corrected copy is also enclosed. Of all the changes, I found four that needed slight revisions, and I have numbered them on your revised copy:

1. As I was adding the correction here, I thought the sentence might be reworded so that it would not be quite so awkward. My suggestion has been included in the second draft. Please feel free to revamp it!

2. I have added the total face values in parentheses. The designations "Total" and "Subtotal" will appear in bold face, kicked out to the left--the ($36) and ($56) will appear directly under the column above.

3. The addition of "Such a" seemed awkward. Could we substitute his or something comparable?

4. (Appears in notes to poem.) "Franklin-made" might be confusing; could we substitute "Franklin's"? Also, the phrase "a similar version of which" is misplaced, as it mistakenly modifies "Trade Resolutions." I have retained the original composition, incorporating your other corrections.

In making a perfunctory computer search of the file, I did find a few more spellings of currency with a lower case "c" and several more references to "reverse." Hopefully, we have caught all of them!

The caption for the $20 bill has been added to the captions for the other illustrations.

Also included in the envelop is a photocopy of the cover for this issue of the magazine. I guess I didn't tell you that your article is the "cover story." Actually, the photocopy does not do the cover art justice--the rings are a nice burnt orange color (unfortunately the choice of base color, in this case a bright orange, is not within our control) and, all in all, the cover is one of the more attractive ones we have featured.

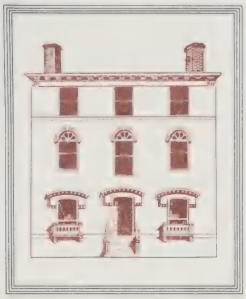
Hope we are getting the manuscript to a point where we can give the typesetter the go ahead. I will not have the poem totally reset; enclosed is a galley proof

with your corrections noted. I hope you do not have too much difficulty deciphering my notes.

Looking forward to hearing from you. I remain respectfully,

Barbara

Barbara J. Gregory
Associate Editor
THE NUMISMATIST



THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ALUMNI RELATIONS OFFICE
alumni house
washington, dc 20052 (202) 676-6435

October 14, 1983

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Mr. Newman:

I am sorry to inform you that we have lost the address of Pastora San Juan Cafferty. The last correspondence we had from her was in September of 1971. At that time she was living in Washington, D.C., but since then we have no record of her whereabouts.

I regret that I have been unable to help you.

Sincerely,

Alleyne H. Dickens

Alleyne H. Dickens
Alumni Records Office

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

October 14, 1983

Mrs. Margo Russell
Coin World
P. O. Box 150
Sidney, Ohio 45367

Dear Margo:

The Numismatist has agreed that after a lead time of a couple of weeks that Coin World can publish my latest scribbling. If you think it is interesting to your readers, it is yours to use. It will be in the November 1983 issue.

The text is enclosed in the final draft form prepared by The Numismatist. The pictures in decent form will be sent shortly and I would appreciate their return. To make your article a little different, perhaps the head line could be pepped up as "Discovery of Franklin's Creation of 13 Link Chain Design" with subhead "After over 200 years the missing link is located". Perhaps you have better suggestions.

I was truly elated to write it up. Serendipity accounts for so much.

If you want to include Franklin's writing about trade on the sheet with Franklin's emblem sketch, I'll send it, if you cannot easily read it on the xerox. It is a good sample of his handwriting and naturally further verifies the source of the sketch and mottoes. Franklin was a paper saver. And I, - I save Coin World.

Your ANS publication was a gem. Your recruitment of memberships was a major help. It was nice to see you and your family at the festivities.

I will be in Oman, Sudan and Ethiopia from November 4 on.

Your numismatic pal,

Eric P. Newman

jah

Encls.

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

October 14, 1983

Ms. Barbara J. Gregory
The Numismatist
Box 2366
Colorado Springs, CO 80901

Dear Barbara:

Hopefully the Link article is by now all linked up. I do appreciate your extensive participation in sentence structure and word refinement. I will look forward to the real cover picture. I assume I need do nothing more.

As indicated before, I need:

1. Return of the illustrations as soon as they have served your purpose.

2. Twenty copies of the November issue.

Incidentally, it occurred to me that the Numismatic Hall of Fame might be the highest award of A.N.A.. Is it an A.N.A. matter, or is it separate? I might be wrong in what I told you if it is A.N.A.'s highest.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

THE NUMISMATIST
official publication of the
American Numismatic Association
P.O. Box 2366 · Colorado Springs · Colorado 80901-2366
(303)632-2646

N. NEIL HARRIS
Editor
BARBARA J. GREGORY
Associate Editor
G. LEE HUDSON
Assistant Editor
LISA A. SUNDERLIN
Editorial Assistant

October 17, 1983

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric:

Thank you for your letter of October 14. All went well with your article and it is on its way to the printer. It was a pleasure to work with such a fascinating article and scholarly author.

You are correct in assuming that the Farran Zerbe award is the ANA's highest honor. Election to the Hall of Fame is not really thought of as an award.

Your illustrations have been mailed to you under separate cover. When copies of the cover and issues of the November magazine become available, I will send them to you.

Kindest regards,

Barbara

Barbara Gregory
Associate Editor
THE NUMISMATIST

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

October 18, 1983

Mrs. Margo Russell
Coin World
P. O. Box 150
Sidney, Ohio 45367

Dear Margo:

You will just come back from your vacation at the time I am leaving for mine. Therefore, the matter of your publication of my Missing Link matter will be entirely up to you.

Neil Harris was nice enough to send the illustrations directly from Colorado Springs to you. When these illustrations have served your purpose, please return them to me.

In the text of my article you will find various signals (which ANA used) have italics and other typesetting matters. Please edit this situation to conform to your standards. Hopefully you will have a printed copy of The Numismatist before you, so as to clarify what was intended.

My very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

THE NUMISMATIST
official publication of the
American Numismatic Association
P.O. Box 2366 · Colorado Springs, Colorado 80901-2366
(303)632-2646

N. NEIL HARRIS
Editor
BARBARA J. GREGORY
Associate Editor
G. LEE HUDSON
Assistant Editor
LISA A. SUNDERLIN
Editorial Assistant

November 7, 1983

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric:

Enclosed are several covers and a preliminary run of your article. Thought you might like a sneak preview.

Regards,

Barbara

Barbara Gregory
Associate Editor
THE NUMISMATIST

JOSEPH R. LASSER
119 CUSHMAN ROAD
SCARSDALE, NEW YORK 10583

11/28/83

Dear Eric —

Returned from the Caribbean and got two big "lifts" from EPN. First, let me say, when better articles are written, they consistently come from you. Your work is just so good and so polished. Second, thanks so much for the Crosby. I have the smaller (non-deluxe) Quartermain Version; so your gesture is much appreciated —

All the Best to You Both —

Joe

Nov 1983

American Numismatic Association

District Representative

Dear Eric,

I just finished your latest piece of numismatic detective work, "Benjamin Franklin and the Chain Design," and wanted to congratulate you. How do you continue to do it? I really do appreciate the nice things you had to say about my 1979 'Rings' piece.

I am happy that nothing in your article contradicts any of the assumptions that we have made about this design previously. In a book store last summer I came across something of interest to this study and will now go back to copy it (if I can locate the book again). It was a reference to some uses of this design around 1776 which I had not included in my own research.

The poem, The History of Peru, was also most enjoyable. Naturally, I was most amused by stanzas 10 and 11 with their references to the design.

Congratulations on this excellent discovery of the missing 'link.'

Best Wishes,

David

David P. McBride

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

November 29, 1983

Mr. David McBride
P. O. Box 643
Frisco, CO 80443

Dear David:

It was so thoughtful of you to write me concerning my article on the chain design. I can assure you that the article that you wrote in 1979 took twenty times more research than mine because I was so lucky in having the new findings come my way by coincidence.

It would be very interesting if you could find another 1776 reference to the use of the design and to see whether it is before or after July, 1776. I am glad that you like the poem which was brilliantly written and which has stimulated a couple of people to try to figure out some of its mysterious references. There is nothing more difficult than to try to interpret colloquial gossipy wisecracks over 200 years later.

Please call me the next time you are in St. Louis.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

From the desk of

Margo Russell

Nov. 30, 1983

Eric, you must have The Eagle and the Shield. It is 637 pages, hard cover, and costs $19, lots of good art.

Here are some ordering addresses.

If you want to preview, we'll send you our copy. . .

Happy you're home; hope none of the Arab customs rubbed off on you.

Evelyn's too pretty to wear veils. . .

Bestest,
Margo

amos press P.O. BOX 150 911 VANDEMARK RD SIDNEY, OHIO 45367 513/498-2111

Remittance for all publications ordered from the Superintendent of Documents must be received in advance of shipment by check or money order payable to the Superintendent of Documents. Orders also may be charged to MasterCard or VISA accounts.

A list of depository libraries is available from the Superintendent of Documents.

Popular Government publications may be purchased at the GPO Bookstores listed below:

Washington, D.C. area:
Main Bookstore, 710 N. Capitol St. Phone, 202-275-2091.
Commerce Department, 14th and E Sts. NW. Phone, 202-377-3527.
HHS, 330 Independence Ave. SW. Phone, 202-472-7478.
Retail Sales Branch, 8660 Cherry Lane, Laurel, Md. Phone, 301-953-7974.
Pentagon Building, Main Concourse. Phone, 703-557-1821.
State Department, 21st and C Sts. NW. Phone, 202-632-1437.

Atlanta, Ga., Federal Bldg., 275 Peachtree St. NE. Phone, 404-221-6947.
Birmingham, Ala., 9220-B Parkway East, Roebuck Shopping City. Phone, 205-254-1056.
Boston, Mass., John F. Kennedy Federal Bldg., Sudbury St. Phone, 617-223-6071.
Chicago, Ill., Everett McKinley Dirksen Bldg., 219 S. Dearborn St. Phone, 312-353-5133.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federal Office Bldg., 1240 E. 9th St. Phone, 216-522-4922.
Columbus, Ohio, Federal Office Bldg., 200 N. High St. Phone, 614-469-6956.
Dallas, Tex., Federal Bldg.-U.S. Courthouse, 1100 Commerce St. Phone, 214-767-0076.
Denver, Colo., Federal Bldg., 1961 Stout St. Phone, 303-837-3964.
Detroit, Mich., Patrick V. McNamara Federal Bldg., 477 Michigan Ave. Phone, 313-226-7816.
Houston, Tex., 45 College Center, 9319 Gulf Freeway. Phone, 713-229-3515.
Jacksonville, Fla., Federal Bldg., 400 W. Bay St. Phone, 904-791-3801.
Kansas City, Mo., Federal Office Bldg., 601 E. 12th St. Phone, 816-374-2160.
Los Angeles, Calif., ARCO Plaza, 505 S. Flower St. Phone, 213-688-5841.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federal Bldg., 519 E. Wisconsin Ave. Phone, 414-291-1304.
New York, N.Y., 26 Federal Plaza. Phone, 212-264-3825.
Philadelphia, Pa., Federal Office Bldg., 600 Arch St. Phone, 215-597-0677.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Federal Bldg., 1000 Liberty Ave. Phone, 412-644-2721.
Pueblo, Colo., 720 N. Main Majestic Bldg. Phone, 303-544-3142.
San Francisco, Calif., Federal Office Bldg., 450 Golden Gate Ave. Phone, 415-556-0643.
Seattle, Wash., Federal Office Bldg., 915 Second Ave. Phone, 206-442-4270.

For further information, contact the Legislative Liaison/Public Affairs Officer, Government Printing Office, North Capitol and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C. 20401. Phone, 202-275-3204.

Approved.

Danford L. Sawyer, Jr.,
Public Printer.

THE EAGLE AND THE SHIELD

A History of the Great Seal of the United States

By RICHARD S. PATTERSON
and
RICHARDSON DOUGALL

Washington
1976

Published by the Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs,
Department of State,
under the auspices of the
American Revolution Bicentennial Administration

Department of State Publication 8900
Department and Foreign Service Series 161

Released 1978

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C.

Stock Number 044-000-01543-9

Franklin owned a copy of this edition of Camerarius.[49] Franklin, a Member of the Continental Congress in 1775, served in that year on a committee concerned with the issuance of the new Continental currency, in eleven denominations. Each of those denominations carried on one side an emblem, with accompanying motto, and most of the emblems and mottoes were copied directly from the Mainz edition of Camerarius.[50] Eric P. Newman established these facts a decade ago and Frank H. Sommer had earlier linked Camerarius with the Great Seal design,[51] but the Thomson–Camerarius connection needs further consideration.

Charles Thomson, as Secretary of Congress, knew about the work of the 1775 committee on currency, and as a citizen of Philadelphia he must have handled many examples of the currency. In 1843 it was stated—without cited authority—that the devices and mottoes were "said to have been composed" by Franklin and Thomson, "aided by the Latinists of the Continental Congress".[52] But even if Thomson had no part in designing the currency, as a classical scholar and friend of Franklin, he surely knew the origin of the designs; if he was not told the source of these curious emblems, each with a Latin motto, would he not have asked? Did he study Franklin's copy of Camerarius with sufficient care to remember seven years later a striking emblem that had not been used on the currency—an eagle with symbols of peace and war? Or was Franklin's copy of the emblem book still available to Thomson in Philadelphia in 1782, even though Franklin himself was then abroad, serving as Minister to France? These questions cannot be answered with certainty, but it is known that Franklin left some of his books in Pennsylvania when he went to Europe.[53] Whatever the explanation, the resemblance

[49] Newman, "Continental Currency", pp. 1590–1591. For a discussion of Franklin's library and the way in which it was determined that certain books were in it, see Library Company of Philadelphia, *Annual Report*, 1956, pp. 7–19. Franklin's copy of Camerarius is now in the collections of the Library Company. Other copies of Camerarius were owned by Francis Bacon and King Henry IV of France. See Shipman, comp., *Catalogue*, pp. 36–37.

[50] Newman, "Continental Currency", pp. 1588–1593, 1596.

[51] The article cited in notes 49 and 50, *supra*, appeared in the *Numismatist* for Dec. 1966. Sommer, "Emblem and Device", pp. 70, 72–73; this article appeared in the *Art Quarterly* in the spring of 1961.

[52] Breck, "Historical Sketch of Continental Paper Money", p. 14; quoted in Newman, "Continental Currency", p. 1587.

[53] See Library Company of Philadelphia, *Annual Report*, 1956, p. 8.

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

November 30, 1983

Mr. Robert W. Julian
1003 Riverside Drive
Logansport, IN 46947

Dear Bob:

While I was in Asia you were nice enough to telephone with respect to my article on the missing link. I certainly do appreciate the fact that you as a fellow writer found it interesting enough to call me.

My best wishes.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

December 2, 1983

Government Printing Office Bookstores
Retail Sales Branch
8660 Cherry Lane
Laurel, MD 20810

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is a check for $19.00 for one copy of The Eagle and the Shield by Richard S. Patterson and Richardson Dougall, Stock No. 044-000-01543-9.

I look forward to receiving the publication.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

Encl.

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

December 6, 1983

Mr. Stephen Catlett
American Philosophical Society
105 South 5th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

Dear Mr. Catlett:

I am sending you under separate cover the November 1983 Numismatist containing the article on Franklin's chain design, etc.. I want to again express my appreciation for the helpfulness your organization and you personally furnished. It is indeed a pleasure to do research when one has such prompt and efficient cooperation.

If there is anything I can do at any time, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

December 6, 1983

Mr. J. A. Leo Lemay
University of Delaware
Department of English
204 Memorial Hall
Newark, DE 19711

Dear Mr. Lemay:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of The Numismatist for November 1983 containing the article on the chain design, etc.. I wish to repeat my sincere thanks for your cooperation and helpfulness in connection with this research project. In spite of a few typographical errors, I am satisfied with the article.

I have not forgotten your suggestion about a revised edition of Early Paper Money of America, including indices covering emblems and mottoes. I want to give this matter further thought.

Thank you again for your helpfulness.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

jah

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE
19711

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
204 MEMORIAL HALL
PHONE: 302-738-2361

Dec 9, 1983

Dear Eric —

Congratulations upon your latest fine contribution to Franklin scholarship and numismatics.

Thank you for your generous acknowledgement and for the copy of the magazine.

Cordially,

Leo

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

THE LIBRARY–105 SOUTH FIFTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19106 · Phone (215) [redacted]
MArket 7-0706

Edward C. Carter, II Librarian

Dec. 12, 1983

Mr. Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Ave.
St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Dear Mr. Newman:

I received the November issue of The Numismatist which you so kindly sent. I congratulate you on a very fine piece of work; both detective and writing. It is most interesting.

I am happy that I was able to contribute to it.

Again, thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Stephen Catlett

Stephen Catlett
Manuscripts Libn.

THE NUMISMATIST
official publication of the
American Numismatic Association
P.O. Box 2366 · Colorado Springs · Colorado 80901-2366
(303)632-2646

July 5, 1984

N. NEIL HARRIS
Editor

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Ave.
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric:

It is my pleasant duty as editor of THE NUMISMATIST to inform you that your article entitled "Benjamin Franklin and the Chain Design" has been selected as a major Heath Literary Award winner for articles published in the ANA's official journal during the 1983 calendar year.

Official recognition of your award will be made at the annual ANA awards presentation meeting on Tuesday, July 31, 1:00 P.M., at the Westin Hotel, Mackinac Ballroom, during the ANA's 93rd Anniversary Convention. (Please note: Literary awards are not presented at the convention's banquet.)

We hope we can present your award to you personally on the above mentioned occasion. Should you not plan to attend the convention, I would appreciate your informing me who might receive the award on your behalf. Otherwise, I will see that your award is mailed to you following the convention.

Once again, congratulations on your award, and I hope that we will receive another article submission from you in the near future. It would be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Neil

N. Neil Harris
Editor
THE NUMISMATIST

NNH/mmj

THE NUMISMATIST
official publication of the
American Numismatic Association
P.O. Box 2366 · Colorado Springs · Colorado 80901-2366
(303)632-2646

July 5, 1984

N. NEIL HARRIS
Editor

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Ave.
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric:

It is my pleasant duty as editor of THE NUMISMATIST to inform you that your article entitled "Benjamin Franklin and the Chain Design" has been selected as a major Heath Literary Award winner for articles published in the ANA's official journal during the 1983 calendar year.

Official recognition of your award will be made at the annual ANA awards presentation meeting on Tuesday, July 31, 1:00 P.M., at the Westin Hotel, Mackinac Ballroom, during the ANA's 93rd Anniversary Convention. (Please note: Literary awards are not presented at the convention's banquet.)

We hope we can present your award to you personally on the above mentioned occasion. Should you not plan to attend the convention, I would appreciate your informing me who might receive the award on your behalf. Otherwise, I will see that your award is mailed to you following the convention.

Once again, congratulations on your award, and I hope that we will receive another article submission from you in the near future. It would be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Neil

N. Neil Harris
Editor
THE NUMISMATIST

NNH/mmj

THE NUMISMATIST
official publication of the
American Numismatic Association
P.O. Box 2366 · Colorado Springs · Colorado 80901-2366
(303)632-2646

July 5, 1984

N. NEIL HARRIS
Editor

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Ave.
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric:

It is my pleasant duty as editor of THE NUMISMATIST to inform you that your article entitled "Benjamin Franklin and the Chain Design" has been selected as a Wayte and Olga Raymond Memorial Literary Award winner for articles published in the ANA's official journal during the 1983 calendar year.

This award is for articles relating to United States numismatics involving new information, data or conclusions and predicated upon comprehensive research. Official recognition of your award will be made at the annual ANA awards presentation meeting on Tuesday, July 31, 1:00 P.M., at the Westin Hotel, Mackinac Ballroom, during the ANA's 93rd Anniversary Convention. (Please note: Literary awards are not presented at the convention's banquet.)

We hope we can present your award to you personally on the above mentioned occasion. Should you not plan to attend the convention, I would appreciate your informing me who might receive the award on your behalf. Otherwise, I will see that your award is mailed to you following the convention.

Once again, congratulations on your award, and I hope that we will receive another article submission from you in the near future. It would be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Neil

N. Neil Harris
Editor
THE NUMISMATIST

NNH/mmj

THE NUMISMATIST
official publication of the
American Numismatic Association
P.O. Box 2366 · Colorado Springs · Colorado 80901-2366
(303)632-2646

July 5, 1984

N. NEIL HARRIS
Editor

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Ave.
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric:

It is my pleasant duty as editor of THE NUMISMATIST to inform you that your article entitled "Benjamin Franklin and the Chain Design" has been selected as a Wayte and Olga Raymond Memorial Literary Award winner for articles published in the ANA's official journal during the 1983 calendar year.

This award is for articles relating to United States numismatics involving new information, data or conclusions and predicated upon comprehensive research. Official recognition of your award will be made at the annual ANA awards presentation meeting on Tuesday, July 31, 1:00 P.M., at the Westin Hotel, Mackinac Ballroom, during the ANA's 93rd Anniversary Convention. (Please note: Literary awards are not presented at the convention's banquet.)

We hope we can present your award to you personally on the above mentioned occasion. Should you not plan to attend the convention, I would appreciate your informing me who might receive the award on your behalf. Otherwise, I will see that your award is mailed to you following the convention.

Once again, congratulations on your award, and I hope that we will receive another article submission from you in the near future. It would be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Neil

N. Neil Harris
Editor
THE NUMISMATIST

NNH/mmj

American Numismatic Association

Chartered by Congress 1912

Third

Heath Literary Award

Eric P. Newman

IN RECOGNITION OF YOUR
OUTSTANDING LITERARY CONTRIBUTION
PUBLISHED IN THE NUMISMATIST DURING THE YEAR

1983

Editor

Awards Chairman

AMERICAN NUMISMATIC ASSOCIATION · ORGANIZED 1891 · DE PROFUNDIS

President

Executive Vice President

The Wayte and Olga Raymond Memorial Award

for

DISTINGUISHED NUMISMATIC ACHIEVEMENT

IN THE FIELD OF UNITED STATES NUMISMATICS

First Place

has been awarded to

Eric P. Newman

for

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND THE CHAIN DESIGN"

an article that, in our judgment, incorporates original and comprehensive research in the presentation of new information, data or conclusions, and which has been published in The Numismatist, the official journal of The American Numismatic Association, in the issue of November, 1983. *This certificate is herewith awarded, together with the appropriate monetary honorarium, on this, the* 31st *day of* July, 1984, *with the best wishes of the editor of The Numismatist, officers of the association and of the sponsor.*

SPONSOR

PRESIDENT

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC ASSOCIATION

EDITOR, *The Numismatist*

EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO—INITIAL AWARD, 1978

AMERICAN BANK NOTE COMPANY

Audiovisual entrance

Francis Hopkinson, "Miscellaneous Essays" 1792 3 vol
Evans 24407

Pennsy Mag Suppl 1775 | "On the Use and Abuse of Mottos"
Thos Paine | Amer Period Series Reel 24 Microfilm

Joseph Stansbury — 1750– poet — The Loyal Verses of Joseph Stansbury Albany, 1860
E. 295.S 79

American Periodical Series has other items.

Audio
889 5432

Papers of Benj Fr E 302 .F 8 2 also have bibl

June 22 - 24, 1775 Journals of the Cont Cong Vol II p 105

July 25, 1775 " " " Vol II p 207

Hess-Thacher Franklin Papers American Phil Soc L(18), 22

Trade Frank Papers Am Phil Soc L(18), 45

Samuel Curwen, Journals and Letters 1775-84
N.Y. Francis 1842, p. 46.

Beverley Robinson (1722-1792) of New York was a loyalist
(Tory) who participated in British military action was a Colonel in the Loyal American
Regiment and a Commander of Rangers and Pioneers)

from Lossing

889-6568 Chemistry

~~Dexter Washington~~ ~~889-5400~~ Background notes

James Cannon
taught at college —
write for Paine
signer of Continental Currency?

Anthony Morris, Jr. bot family property 10/25/75,
deputy from Phila to Cont Cong
member of Morris family of Phila
Signed 5/10/75 issue of CC

Robert C Moon
Vol 1 p 376

port wine duc means sale of imported goods at dock
6 pence is duty

Beverley Robinson of NY (1722-1792
loyalist — was he in no partic conflict
but otherwise entered military on behalf of
Crown
Was Colonel of Loyal Amer Regiment
Commander of Guides + Pioneers

Language of Franklin
on back of Resolution of Trade

Ready to receive Irish Woollens whenever
they shall ascertain Methods of sending them free
of all Imposition

Resolve – Not to treat Separately

Resolve concerning the Power of Parliament to alter
Constitutions — Lord Chatham Resolution

Difference has been whether we shall give our
Money, or have it taken from us by Force,
contrary to our Rights

It can be noted that Franklin's distinctively written M on Motto and M on Methods are identical on structure.

E302 F82
Wash Univ
Aug 1983

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin
William B. Willcox, Editor
Vol 22 Mar 23, 1775 through Oct 27, 1776
New Haven 1982

Note 3

On the reverse of (one sheet) BF wrote "a column of figures relating to the emission of bills of credit. He was on a committee to supervise the printing of $2,000,000 in such bills in specified amounts and denominations (JCC II 103, 105-106) and was apparently satisfying himself that the totals accorded with the limits set."

p 54

This is the only contemporary evidence of actual participation in the issuance of paper money

The sheet referred to was one of three drafts of a resolution of thanks to English officials etc who acted favorably toward America. Now submitted to Cont Cong — Library of Amer Phil Soc

Notes for background

PhD thesis by

Pastora S. J. Coffey
George Washington Univ 1971

entitled
"Loyalist Rhapsodies: The Poetry of Stansbury & Odell"

Manuscript volume of poems by
Joseph Stansbury of Phila
in Peter Force Collections, Library of Congress

In a note to the poem Stansbury says
"Explanation of the Devices & mottos of the Youth's Corps of Black Knights in the Revolution, published by Bell & Carlisle in 1794 and supposed to be written by the celebrated Dr Franklin"

poem not included in
"The Loyal Verses of Joseph Stansbury", (Albany, 1860)

The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson, Esq. 3v. Phila.: T. Dobson, 1792

I, 42-46

shortened & revised from the Supplement to the Pa Mag for 1775, pp. 587-89.

On MOTTOS.

I WAS much entertained by your friend's explanation of the devices and mottos which diſtinguiſh our continental bills of credit. When a motto accompanies a device, there ſhould be ſuch a connection between them that the one ſhould be explanatory of the other, ſo that a little knowledge of the language from which the motto is ſelected, ſhould be ſufficient for a diſcovery of the author's ſentiment. But I have often puzzled my brains to no purpoſe to tranſlate ſome of the mottos in heraldry; there being ſeldom any connection between the device and the inſcription. And as the grammar of the motto is almoſt always incomplete, I have been inclined to think that the words were only intended as ornamental, in filling up the vacant ſpace of a handſome ſcroll.

YOUR writers of eſſays and pamphlets are generally very fond of mottos—as well no title-page as no motto. The perſon amongſt the Indians who acts in the capacity of phyſician and magician (for they always unite theſe characters) wears a leaf of ſome plant on his forehead or breaſt, to indicate his

his knowledge in the medicinal qualities of herbs; juſt ſo a fragment from Virgil or Horace is frequently ſtuck in the title-page of a pamphlet, merely to ſhew that the author underſtands Latin.

IT is curious to obſerve how the works of the ancients have been frittered into ſcraps for this uſe, and how ſtrangely they have been miſapplied. Three or four detached words, having the leaſt ſeeming analogy with the ſubject in hand, are eagerly ſeized upon for a motto: whereas, perhaps, upon examining the paſſage from which theſe words have been plundered, and obſerving what precedes and what follows, we may find a ſentiment very different from that to which the modern author hath applied them, if not directly contrary to it.

BY the ſame management paſſages in Holy Writ may be adduced as authorities for every ſpecies of immorality and wickedneſs. For example, if I wanted a motto in favour of

THEFT.

"Stolen waters are ſweet."—*Prov.* ix.
"Deceit is ſweet to a man."—*Prov.* xx.

COVETOUSNESS.

"Wealth maketh many friends."—*Prov.* xix.

"The

" The rich man is wiſe."—*Prov.* xxviii.
" Money anſwereth all things."—*Ecc.* x.

FOLLY.

" Inherit folly—folly is joy."—*Prov.* xiv. xv.
" In much wiſdom is much grief."—*Ecc.* i.
" Lay hold on folly."—*Ecc.* ii.
" Folly is ſet in great dignity."—*Ecc.* x.

TATTLING.

" Hold not thy peace."—*Pſa.* cix.

INJUSTICE.

" Puniſh the juſt."—*Prov.* xvii.
" A juſt man falleth."—*Prov.* xxiv.
" There is not a juſt man upon earth that doth
" good."—*Ecc.* vii.

SUICIDE.

" Put a knife to thy throat."—*Prov.* xxiii.

REVENGE.

" Heap coals of fire upon his head, and the Lord
" ſhall reward thee."—*Prov.* xxv.

UNCLEANNESS.

" Cauſe thy fleſh to ſin."—*Ecc.* v.

DRUN-

DRUNKENNESS.

" Tarry long at the wine."—*Prov.* xxiii.
" Give ſtrong drink."—*Prov.* xxxi.
" There is nothing better for a man than that he
" ſhould eat and drink."—*Ecc.* ii.
" A man hath no better thing under the ſun than
" that he ſhould eat, drink, and be merry."—
Ecc. viii.

COWARDICE.

" Happy is the man that feareth always."—*Prov.* xxviii.

SIN IN GENERAL.

" Be not righteous over-much."—*Ecc.* vii.
" Though a ſinner doth evil an hundred times, yet
" ſurely I know it ſhall be well with him."—
Ecc. viii.
" As is the good, ſo is the ſinner."—*Ecc.* ix.

ATHEISM.

" There is no God."—*Pſa.* liii.

ABSURD as theſe applications of ſcripture may appear, I have known learned preachers almoſt as much out of the way in handling a text. A text is a motto of the firſt rank, as it is, or ought to be, the ſole buſineſs of the ſubſequent diſcourſe to explain

1 Writings of Francis Hopkinson, Esq. 3v (Phila.: T. Dobson, 1792)

plain and enforce it to the improvement of the hearers. How many ſermons fall ſhort of this end? How frequently is a text to a ſermon, what a motto is to a coat of arms—mere matter of decoration? Or, which is much worſe, how often do preachers diſtort and miſapply texts of ſcripture to favour ſome new doctrine or erroneous dogma?

THERE is no doubt but that mottos may be uſed to advantage, when they are ſelected with judgment, and applied as an authority or elucidation of the ſubject in hand. They are with more propriety prefixed to ſhort eſſays than to prolix and elaborate works; becauſe the general ſenſe of a conciſe performance may be condenſed into a few words more eaſily than can be expected of a diffuſe and voluminous work.

THE

THE AMBIGUITY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

I AM by birth a foreigner, have been ſome years in the mercantile way, and by a ſucceſsful attention to buſineſs have acquired a handſome fortune for a ſingle man. Content with my acquiſitions I cloſed all accounts, and reſolved to travel, and ſettle wherever my inclination ſhould determine. This city, for many reaſons, became the place of my choice. I found it abſolutely neceſſary to devote ſome time to the ſtudy of the Engliſh language; and for this purpoſe I purchaſed grammars, dictionaries, and ſome of the moſt approved authors in proſe and verſe; all which I ſtudied with no ſmall aſſiduity. I thought, at length, that I had made a conſiderable proficiency; but either I was deceived, or the language itſelf muſt be in the fault.

PRECISION in terms, is certainly an important perfection in any language: but, in this, the Engliſh tongue ſeems to be very deficient: what ſtrange opportunity it affords to your ſcribbling wags to quibble and pun upon every occaſion; owing, as I apprehend, to the ambiguity of the language: many words having the ſame pronunciation, but

widely

cause of importance, or lawyer of note speaking, I proceeded to the latter, where was sitting that excellent useful judge, but mischievous politician, Lord Mansfield. For the same reason as the former I quitted my stand here, and retreated to the House of Commons' committee-chamber, where for an hour or two I was entertained at the examination of witnesses in the Worcester contested election. The committee sat on an elevated bench, and looked like a court of sessions; the causes managed by advocates with regularity and decency. One of the committee was Sir George Saville, the chairman Ferguson—all took minutes as is usual in all the courts. Thence to Judge Sewall's, Brompton-row, where met a few New England friends at dinner; among them Mr. Thomas Robie, whom I was very glad to see, he having arrived in England from Halifax but three days since. By him I received a letter from Dr. John Prince in answer to mine dated in August.

FROM HON. WILLIAM BROWNE.

Boston, Jan. 8, 1776.

* * * * * * *

George Dodge, in a schooner from Dominica, and Ingersol in a schooner of Hasket Derby's from Jamaica, were lately sent in. The property of both vessels was transferred to merchants in the West Indies to cover their interest.

James Grant is here from Halifax; he has the promise of a commission in the army, and to keep his rank. About two months ago Mr. Marston of Marblehead, came by night from Col. Fowles' farm. He knows nothing about Salem. His wife died last summer.

The other day Gen. Robinson showed me the devices upon the denominations of the continental bills. On one is represented a heavy shower of rain falling on a new settled country, motto around it "*Serenabit;*" on another, a hand plucking the branches from a tea-plant, with the motto, "*Sustine vel abstine;*" on a third a hawk contending with a stork, motto "*Exitus in dubio est;*" on a fourth, an ancient crown on a pedestal, motto "*Si recte facias;*" on a fifth a beaver gnawing down a full grown oak, motto "*Perseverando;*" on a sixth an Irish harp, motto "*Majora majoribus consonant.*" They are the inventions of Dr. Franklin.

When I wrote to you in October I forgot to send you the following list of officers in part of the rebel army, found in the pocket

cause of importance, or lawyer of note speaking, I proceeded to the latter, where was sitting that excellent useful judge, but mischievous politician, Lord Mansfield. For the same reason as the former I quitted my stand here, and retreated to the House of Commons' committee-chamber, where for an hour or two I was entertained at the examination of witnesses in the Worcester contested election. The committee sat on an elevated bench, and looked like a court of sessions; the causes managed by advocates with regularity and decency. One of the committee was Sir George Saville, the chairman Ferguson—all took minutes as is usual in all the courts. Thence to Judge Sewall's, Brompton-row, where met a few New England friends at dinner; among them Mr. Thomas Robie, whom I was very glad to see, he having arrived in England from Halifax but three days since. By him I received a letter from Dr. John Prince in answer to mine dated in August.

FROM HON. WILLIAM BROWNE.

Boston, Jan. 8, 1776.

* * * * * * *

George Dodge, in a schooner from Dominica, and Ingersol in a schooner of Hasket Derby's from Jamaica, were lately sent in. The property of both vessels was transferred to merchants in the West Indies to cover their interest.

James Grant is here from Halifax; he has the promise of a commission in the army, and to keep his rank. About two months ago Mr. Marston of Marblehead, came by night from Col. Fowles' farm. He knows nothing about Salem. His wife died last summer.

The other day Gen. Robinson showed me the devices upon the denominations of the continental bills. On one is represented a heavy shower of rain falling on a new settled country, motto around it "*Serenabit;*" on another, a hand plucking the branches from a tea-plant, with the motto, "*Sustine vel abstine;*" on a third a hawk contending with a stork, motto "*Exitus in dubio est;*" on a fourth, an ancient crown on a pedestal, motto "*Si recte facias;*" on a fifth a beaver gnawing down a full grown oak, motto "*Perseverando;*" on a sixth an Irish harp, motto "*Majora majoribus consonant.*" They are the inventions of Dr. Franklin.

When I wrote to you in October I forgot to send you the following list of officers in part of the rebel army, found in the pocket

Bowne (Harvard, 1755)
(Carver, Samuel
Journal and Letters, 1775-84
N.Y.: Francis, 1842 qq 46

1775 Suppl. to Penna. Magazine (Reel 74)

Ref Doc 1775 Clerici

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

Pennsylvania Magazine:

FOR THE YEAR 1775.

CONTAINING,

The Marvellous Life and Death of [illegible] 651

Wonderful Escape of M. de la Condamine from the Mallecite Indians 652

Ingenious Invention of the Spring Wheel 654

Curious Extracts from the Letters of M. de Maupertuis to the King of Prussia 657

A Speech of the Chiefs and Warriors of the Cherokee Nation, delivered to Sir William Johnson, Bart. 660

One cause of uneasiness in the married state 662

Conclusion of the Historical Account of Canada, with the remainder of the Description of Quebec 664

Conclusion of the Extracts from the journey to the Glaciers of the Duchy of Savoy 668

Several pieces of Intelligence formerly omitted 671

A complete Index, and Table of Contents 676

compliment to Robert Aitken publisher & Thomas Paine was the real editor

Of Covetousness.

Wealth maketh many Friends. Prov. 19.
Heweth Wood [illegible] 28.
[illegible] Eccl. 5.

Of Envy.

Jalousie [illegible] Prov. 14 & 15.
In much wisdom is much grief. Eccl. 1.
Lord hold with me. 2.
Envy not a great Dignity. 10.

Of Idleness.

Hold out the Peace. Pro. 10.

Of Ignorance.

Pauci de Tali. Prov. 17.
Read Non Intelligit. 24.
There is not a sad man upon Earth that wants Gold. Eccl. 7.

Of Sedition.

Pace Authority Tonat. Prov. 23.

Of Rashness.

Heap coals of Fire on his Head and his Lord shall reward me. Pro. 25.

Of Fornication.

Keep thy Flesh to sin. Eccl. 5.

Of Drunkenness & Gluttony.

Eat and drink—stay long at the Wine. Prov. 23.
Wine strong &c. 31.
There is nothing better for a Man than that he should eat and drink. Eccl. 2.
A Man hath no better Thing under the Sun than eat & drink and make merry. Eccl. 8.

Of Cowardice.

Happy is the Man that feareth always. Prov. 28.

Of Sin in general.

Be not wise in your own Eyes. Prov. 3.
Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, & prolong his days, yet surely I know it shall be well with them. Eccl. 8.
It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good. 9.

Of Atheism.

There is no God. Psa. 53.

Absurd as this application of fragments of foreign may be, I have known very learned persons absurd as much out of the way in handling their texts. Never a

Mottos of the first importance; as it is, or ought to be, the whole business of the subsequent discourse to *explain* or *enforce* its doctrine, to the improvement or benefit of the hearers. How many sermons fall short of this desirable end; how frequently a text is to a sermon what a motto is to a coat of arms—mere matter of decoration; how often preachers abuse passages of scripture, not for the benefit of their audience, but to display their own abilities; or, which is much worse, how apt they are, either through ignorance, or to establish a favourite system, to warp, distort and misapply the texts of holy writ. I leave to the observation of every one who will make use of his own common sense, and is not so bigotted to the clergy of any society as to take it for granted, that because a man preaches from a pulpit or harangues from a gallery he must of necessity be enriched with solid sense, must be supposed to act from the best motives, and be wholly influenced by the most genuine piety.

There is no doubt but *Mottos* may be made use of to great advantage, when they are applied as an ardency to an elucidation of the subject the writer hath chosen. The admired author of the *Spectator* hath in general clothed and applied his mottos with great discretion and judgment. *Mottos* are for the most part more properly prefixed to those essays than to grave and serious works. Besides, the whole texts of a connected poetical piece may be supposed to be better understood from a well-known author, which cannot be expected of a voluminous performance.

I shall conclude with an extract from the *Spectator*, No. 221, on this subject, wherein is shewn the true use of *Mottos* and how they ought to be chosen.

"When I have finished any of my speculations, it is my method to consider which of the ancient authors have touched upon the subject that I treat of. By this means I meet with some celebrated thought upon it, or a thought of my own expressed in better words, or some finished for the illustration of my subject. This is what gives birth to the motto of a speculation.—My reader is therefore sure to meet with at least one good line in every paper, and very often finds his imagination entertained by a hint that awakens in his memory some beautiful passage of a classical author.

"It was a saying of an ancient philosopher, which I find some of our writers have ascribed to Queen Elizabeth, who, perhaps, might have taken occasion to repeat it, that *a good Face is a Letter of Recommendation*. It naturally makes the Reader inquisitive into the person who is the author of it, and generally prepossesses them in his favour. A handsome motto has the same effect. Besides that, it always gives a supernumerary beauty to a piece, and is sometimes in a manner necessary when the writer is engaged in what may appear a paradox to vulgar minds, as it shews that he is supported by good authorities, and not singular in his opinion.

A. B.

Philadelphia.

…edented in any old settled country, …hardly, indeed, surpassed by anything …s taken place in Kentucky and Illi… It has an interesting appendix of …cts respecting Manners and Customs,' …son issued, in 1818 (Paisley, 4to), 'A …l Description of the Shire of Ren… including an account of its noble and … families, being a new edition, with …orate continuation of 'The Genealo… history of the Royal and Illustrious … of the Stewarts,' &c. (1710), of … Crawfurd [q. v.] He also contributed …ur Young's 'Annals of Agriculture' …n, 1808, &c.) and to the tracts of the …nd Society.

…ulloch's Literature of Political Economy, …. 219; Donaldson's Agricult. Biogr. p. …arterly Journal of Agriculture, Edin… 1829; Allibone's Dict. of English Lit. …tes' Library Cat. v. 785; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

T. S.

ERTSON, GEORGE CROOM (1842–… philosopher, sixth child of Charles Ro…, ironmonger, by his wife, Marjorie … was born at Aberdeen on 10 March … He was a delicate and precocious … After some elementary teaching he …nt to the grammar school at the age …en, and when fifteen won a bursary at …hal College. He entered as a student …ember 1857, and at the end of his first …essions was first in Greek. In the … session he studied moral philosophy. …ok his M.A. degree in 1861 'with …hest honours,' being especially distin… …d in classics and philosophy. He at… the logic lectures of Professor Bain, …whom he formed a lifelong friendship. …ober 1861 he gained one of the newly …d Ferguson scholarships of 100*l.* a year … years, his scholarship being awarded …assics and mental philosophy' com… This enabled him to extend his studies. …nt the winter of 1861–2 in attendance …ectures at University College, London, …y 1862 he went to Heidelberg, where …stered German, and spent the winter …lin, where he heard Trendelenburg and …rofessors, and especially devoted him… Kant. The next summer was spent … at Göttingen and partly in Paris. He …ed to Aberdeen, where he tried unsuc… …ly for an examinership in philosophy, …tayed at home, devoting himself to …ophical reading. He helped Professor …n the revision of some of his books. …tember 1864 he was appointed teach… …istant to Professor Geddes, and in that …ty lectured upon Greek during the two …ing sessions. In December 1866 Ro… bertson was elected to the chair of mental philosophy and logic in University College, London. His most formidable opponent was Dr. James Martineau, who was rejected chiefly through the influence of George Grote, on the ground of the incompatibility of the professorship with any kind of clerical position. The decision led to some angry controversy, but produced no ill feeling between the candidates (a full account of the facts was given by Robertson in his life of George Grote in this dictionary). Robertson began his lectures in January 1867, and devoted himself unreservedly to his work as long as strength lasted. They involved much labour and a careful study of original authorities, and he soon won the confidence of his colleagues and the affection of a large number of pupils. Soon after his appointment he undertook a work upon Hobbes; he examined the manuscripts at Chatsworth, and, besides other investigations, revived his mathematical knowledge in order to follow some of Hobbes's controversies. Failing health prevented the completion of a book which would have included a survey of the works of Hobbes's philosophical contemporaries. Part of his results were embodied in his admirable monograph upon Hobbes in Blackwood's 'Philosophical Classics,' 1886.

In 1872 Robertson married Caroline Anna, daughter of Sir Charles John Crompton [q. v.], justice of the queen's bench. The marriage was of the happiest, and Mrs. Robertson entirely sympathised with her husband's views. From 1870 to 1876 he was on the committee of the 'National Society for Women's Suffrage,' and in active correspondence with J. S. Mill, the president, until Mill's death in 1873. In later years he took no active part in the movement. The admission of female students to lectures at University College was warmly and successfully supported by him. Mrs. Robertson afterwards took a considerable share, with her husband's advice, in the management of the ladies' college at Girton.

In January 1876 appeared the first number of 'Mind,' a title suggested by himself for the only English journal devoted to philosophy. The publishing expenses were undertaken by Professor Bain, on condition that Robertson should be the sole editor. The labour of collecting and revising contributions, and of providing full accounts of all current philosophical literature, was very considerable, and Robertson discharged a troublesome duty with the most punctilious accuracy. His high standard of thoroughness made him a comparatively slow worker. In 1880 appeared the first symptoms of a disease which involved severe suffering. He submitted to strict regimen, and was helped by the entire devotion of his wife. Surgical operations became necessary, and in the winter of 1883–1884 he was obliged to obtain assistance in lecturing. Repeated attacks in following years induced him to offer his resignation in 1888. The council refused to accept it until 7 May 1892, when continuance had become manifestly impossible. His wife had been suffering from a fatal disease for some time, and died, after making every possible arrangement for her husband's future, on 29 May. Robertson was attempting to take up some of his old work, but was much weakened, and a slight chill was too much for his remaining strength. He died on 20 Sept. 1892. His friends were profoundly impressed by the heroic cheerfulness with which he bore the sufferings and anxieties of his later years, and carried on his work to the last moment at which it was possible. Though his health prevented him from finishing any considerable work, his influence in promoting philosophical studies in England, both by his lectures and his editorial labours, was probably unsurpassed by that of any contemporary. In philosophy his affinities were chiefly with the school represented by the Mills and Professor Bain; but he was widely acquainted with philosophical literature of all schools, and singularly impartial and cautious in his judgment.

Robertson wrote some articles in reviews, gave a few popular lectures, and contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' and to this dictionary. Most of these and his chief articles in 'Mind' were collected as 'Philosophical Remains,' 1894, edited by Professor Bain and Mr. T. Whittaker, Robertson's assistant in the editorship of 'Mind.' A memoir by Professor Bain is prefixed. Two volumes of his lectures (1870–92), edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, were published in 1896.

[Memoir by Prof. Bain, as above; personal knowledge.] L. S.

ROBERTSON, JAMES (1720?–1788), governor of New York, born in Fifeshire about 1720, enlisted as a private, became a sergeant, and obtained an ensign's commission by his service at Carthagena in 1740. Having sailed to America in 1756, he was appointed major-general of the royal troops raised in America, and was also barrack-master at New York. In 1772 he received a colonel's commission, and in the engagement between the British troops and the colonists at Long Island in 1776 he commanded a brigade. He took a leading part in the negotiations with Washington for the release of André. In 1779 Robertson was appointed head of a board of twelve commissioners for restoring peace, and in May of the same year he became civil governor of New York. In May 1781 he was appointed commander-in-chief in Virginia. He thereupon sailed to Sandy Hook; but hearing that Cornwallis had arrived with a commission which would supersede his, he returned to New York. On 20 Nov. 1782 he was appointed lieutenant-general. In the following April he returned to England. He died in London on 4 March 1788.

Our knowledge of Robertson's character rests entirely on the testimony of Thomas Jones, the chief justice of New York, a malevolent and disappointed man, who wrote a history of New York during the revolutionary war. According to him, Robertson, when barrack-master, enriched himself by clipping the coins which passed through his hands, and when civil governor established arbitrary tribunals. He showed, says Jones, 'the haughtiness, superciliousness, and contempt natural to the pride of a rich and opulent Scot,' and, when appointed governor, was infirm, paralytic, and undignifiedly amorous.

[Jones's Hist. of New York; Gent. Mag. March 1788.] J. A. D.

ROBERTSON, JAMES (1714–1795), orientalist, born in 1714 in the parish of Cromarty, studied for many years at Leyden University under Schultens, the celebrated Dutch orientalist, and was 'called' to his native parish as minister, having been licensed by the presbytery of Edinburgh on 28 Nov. 1744. He never settled at Cromarty, but, after graduating at Leyden as 'Britannus' on 20 Jan. 1749, proceeded to Oxford to study under Thomas Hunt [q. v.], the regius professor of Hebrew. He was offered an advantageous post in Doddridge's academy at Northampton; but the town council of Edinburgh, in response to a petition from the divinity students, elected him about May 1751 to the chair of Hebrew in the university of Edinburgh. He received the fees of students only, his superannuated predecessor, Professor Dawson, retaining the salary for life. Dr. Johnson, who visited Edinburgh in August 1773, was delighted with the conversation of the professor of oriental tongues (Boswell, ed. 1848, p. 277). Robertson was infirm during the last few years of his life, and died at Middlefield, Leith Walk, on 26 Nov. 1795. Professor Baird was appointed as joint Hebrew professor in 1792. A medallion of Robertson by James Tassie is in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

The History of Peru etc.[1]

1.
Most Authors describe Man a covetous Elf
That Health, Fame, and Honour would barter for Pelf,
Assembly, Convention, or Congress or King,
It is Money suits all--and of Money I sing.

2.
O'er full half the Globe it is strange to behold
The Value they place upon Silver and Gold!
Those Metals may fail them of which they so vapor--
Our Wealth knows no End--give us Blackball'd Paper![2]

3.
On the Old Current Money (now much in disgrace)
There Mercy and Justice must stare in your face!
But Mercy and Justice are now left behind,
For Mercy is dead, and poor Justice is blind![3]

4.
Our newfashion'd Bills, like our State, cut a Figure,
With Major, and Minor, Mors, Vita, and Decor,
The Latin, besure, strikes the Ear somewhat grand o,
For what is plain English to Perseverando![4]

5.
What a depth of Design we perceiv'd thro' the whole,
When the Newspapers pointed out Body and Soul;[5]
The Eagle was Britain[6]--The Hawthorn bush We--[7]
The Mottos, explain'd, to a Title agree!

6.
Then We were a Crane,[8] and Great Britain a Spear--[9]
Then We were the Corn, which She thrash'd most severe--[10]
Or We were the Harp[11] that was ever in tune--
Then We were the Beaver[12]--and now We're the Spoon![13]

7.
Then a Storm[14]--and a Calm[15]--if a Deluge were made
To prove of Great Britain we were not afraid;
The Laurel awaits us, if we do not falter,
But it's Pasteboard, not Marble that fashions the Altar.[16]

8.
Some thinking a Circle too much like a Noose,
A much larger field for their Emblems did choose,
Where ill-looking Figures so badly assorted,
Resemble some Felons from Newgate transported.[17]

The Maryland First Emission

9.
On another an Arm seems determin'd to weild,
In defence of the Olive a huge massy Sheild;
The Arm is Stark naked--the Sprig is so Small,
It looks just like fighting for nothing at all![18]

The Virginia First Emission

10.
But the last fashion'd Money we all must commend,
Where a Circle of Rings join in Rings without end,
Each Ring is a State, and (the Motto explains)
They all are a Congress--a Congress in Chains!
The lesser Continental Bills of fractions
of a Dollar intended for change, the
Devise by Francis Hopkinson.[19]

11.
In the midst a small Circle resplendent is seen
Surrounded with Glory and picketed in,
To make Jest of our Creed this was certainly done,
For who can believe that Thirteen are but One?

12.
On the Face of the Bill the reverse doth appear,
Almost Shorn of his beams, the Sun's quitting his Sphere,
"I am going," he cries, "who was late your delight,"
"Mind your Business--Repent--I must bid you good night."[20]

13.
"Who can take this Advice! would you have me become
From a Brigadier General, Distiller of Rum! Dan Roberdeau
No, rather at sight of a Cat let me falter,
And fight all my days with my neck in a halter."[21]

14.
"Mind your Business! cries one, fine Advice to be sure, Danl Morris
Must a great Legislator be chang'd to a Brewer!"[22]
"Shall I, cries a Convention-man in a huff,
Descend the Moravian's Candles to Snuff?"[23] Geo. Sahlobser

15.
Or I, cries a third, whom Heaven form'd to rule, James Cannon
Instead of a State, govern Boys at a School?[24]
Alas! cries a Col'nel, my fears are o'erflowing, John Bayard
What, again hold my Vendue, for Sixpence agoing![25]

16.
Mind your Business, good folks, of this raving give o'er,
Convinc'd of your Errors, your Folly deplore,
Return to your Duty, Great Britain is kind,
And all past Offences She'll give to the Wind.

17.
This Puppet show over--This Madness forget,
Peace, Freedom, and Safety again is your Lot,
And Stand, till in ruin Old Nature is hurl'd,
The Glory, the Envy, and Pride of the World.

R R. [Joseph Stansbury]

"See the Explanation of the Devices and Mottos of the Continental Bills of Credit in the Pennsylvania Gazette, published by Hall and Sellers, supposed to be written by the celebrated Dr. Franklin.[26]"

---

[1] Peru here is used as a synonym for gold. Eighteenth century writers often alluded to the gold of the Incas.

[2] On June 22, 1775, the delegates to the Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia issued two million of Spanish milled dollars. [The Spanish dollar had been the coin most in use in the colonies (Paul Bakewell, Jr., Past and Present Facts About Money in the United States [New York: The MacMillan Co., 1936], p. 16).] in bills of credit on the promise of the colonies to redeem these bills. In July an additional one million dollars was ordered. However, the issues of Continental paper money did not stop at three million; six million was issued in 1775; twenty-four million in 1776; and so on until by the end of 1779, the amount reached two-hundred million in denominations ranging from one-sixth of a dollar to eighty-dollar bills. The bills rapidly depreciated so that merchants refused to accept them; in 1776, the Continental Congress gave General Washington the power to take whatever he needed for the use of his armies; if the owners would not sell merchandise for a reasonable price in Continental paper, they were to be arrested for refusal to accept the currency. (Joseph Coffin, Our American Money: A Collector's

Story [New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1940], pp. 33-34). To make matters worse, counterfeit presses in England and America, issued counterfeit notes in an effort to further de-value the currency. Between May, 1775, and January, 1779, Congress issued a series of Blue Notes, unsigned, in an effort to detect counterfeits. These Blue Notes were sent to prominent parties throughout the colonies. (John W. Haseltine, Description of the Paper Money Issued by the Continental Congress of the United States and the General Colonies [Philadelphia: John W. Haseltine, 1872], p. 505).

[3]The first Continental emission on May 10, 1775, features a band holding a balance scale on the $65 bill with the motto: "Fiat Justitia" [Let justice be done]. (Eric P. Newman, The Early Paper Money of America [Racine, Wisconsin: Whitman Publishing Co., 1967, p. 47). The bills of the 1775 emission bore the legend, "The United Colonies." In May, 1777, the legend changed to "The United States"; this became "The United States of North America" in 1779. (Grover C. Criswill, Jr., North American Currency [Iola, Wisconsin: Krause Publications, 1965], pp. 108-9).

Wrong

[4]The emblems and motto cuts from the majority of the first emissions of Continental bills were taken from an emblem book of Dr. Joachim Camerarius in Benjamin Franklin's library. [The book, Symbolorum ac Emblemontum Ethico-Politico published in Mainz in 1702 is filled with Latin mottoes and, thus, Stansbury's complaint of the Latin legends on the bills]. Specifically: major and minor appear on $3 bills, featuring a harp with thirteen strings representing the thirteen colonies and the motto: "majora minoribus consonant" [the large colonies are in harmony with the small colonies]; vita and decor appear on a $4 bill issued in 1776, featuring a wild boar running towards a spear with the motto "Aut mors, aut vita decora" [either death, or an honorable life] encircling the figures; perseverando appears on a $6 bill issued in 1776 which features a beaver gnawing down a tree with the word, "Perseverando" [By perseverance] underneath. (Newman, pp. 46-48).

[5][The Colonial papers carried carefully detailed explanations of the Colonial currency].

[6] The Continental $3 bill issued on May 20, 1777, had on its face a crane fighting an eagle with the motto, "Exitus in Dubio Est" [The outcome is in doubt]. (Newman, p. 37).

[7] The Continental $5 bill issued on November 2, 1776, had on its face a bleeding hand grasping a hawthorne bush with the motto "Sustine vel abstine" [Either sustain yourself or abstain]. (Newman, p. 35).

[8] The Continental $3 bill issued on May 20, 1777 had on the back a crane. (Newman, p. 37).

[9] The Continental $4 bill issued on May 9, 1776, had on its face a wild boar running towards a spear with the motto, "Aut mors, aut vita decora" [Either death or an honorable life]. (Newman, p. 34).

[10] The Continental $3 bill issued in 1776 had on its face grain being threshed by a flail with the motto: "Tribulatio detat" [Affliction enriches]. (Newman, p. 47).

[11] The Continental $3 bill in 1775 had on its face a harp with thirteen strings with the motto "Majora minoribus consonnat" [The large colonies are in harmony with the small colonies]. (Newman, p. 46).

[12] The $6 bill, issued on November 2, 1776 had on its face a beaver gnawing down a tree with the legend, "Perseverando" [By perseverance]. (Newman, p. 46).

[13] [There was no Continental bill nor any bill issued by an individual colony which had the figure of a spoon. Stansbury's meaning is not clear].

[14] All $20 bill faces issued in May 1775, and some $30 bill backs issued during 1775-77 feature the picture of a sea with the motto "Vi concitate" [Driven by a hostile force]. (Newman, p. 46).

[15] The back of 1775-77 $20 bills and some 1775-77 $30 bills showed the sun shining on sailing ships in a calm sea with the legend: "Cessante vento conquerecemus." [When the wind ceases, we rest]. (Newman, p. 46).

[16] All $30 bill faces had the picture of a wreath on a tomb with the legend: "Si recte facies" [If you have lived righteously]. (Newman, p. 46).

[17] The manuscript correctly refers to this as "The Maryland first emission." The Maryland first emission issued on July 26, 1775, unlike the majority of Continental bills, had no circle around its figures. On the face is a propaganda-filled wood-cut by Thomas Sparrow depicting Britannia receiving a petition from the Continental Congress from a female figure representing America. This figure is trampling on a scroll marked "slavery" and holding a liberty cup in front of American troops carrying a flag marked "liberty." On the reverse side, the figures of Britain and America are depicted achieving peace. (Newman, p. 117).

[18] The manuscript incorrectly refers to this bill as "the Virginia first emission." Actually the bill described is the second emission issued on May 6, 1776. This bill had on its face a man dressed as an Indian with a shield in one hand and a spear in the other. His foot rests on a snake, which he is about to strike. Below, entwined about a sprig of olive leaves, is a scroll with the words "Sic semper tyrannus" [Thus, always, to tyrants]. The first emission issued on July 17, 1775 had on it the colonial seal: two men standing on opposite sides of a shield with the royal coats of arms. (Newman, pp. 335-6).

[19] The manuscript incorrectly attributes the design of the lesser Continental bills to Francis Hopkinson. Actually the emblems on the $35, $40, $50, $60, $70 and $80 denominations were developed by Francis Hopkinson, who unsuccessfully sought compensation for his work (Newman, p. 46), but the design of the lesser Continental bills was done by Benjamin Franklin. (Richard T. Hooker, "Franklin's Influence on Colonial and Continental Paper Money," The Numesmatist, LXIX [December, 1956], pp. 1358-9).

20

These three stanzas describe the Continental bills for fractions of a dollar issued on February 17, 1776, and designed by Benjamin Franklin. The front of the bill had a linked colony device: thirteen rings each inscribed with the names of one of the colonies. In the center is seen the legend: "we are one." On the reverse, was a sundial with a sun beaming above it. The motto "fugio" was beside the sun with the words "mind your business" written below the dial. In other words, "I, the sun fly, therefore mind your business." (New, p. 32).

21

Daniel Robrideaux (Roberdeau), was a Philadelphia merchant and Revolutionary patriot whose political career began in 1756 when he sat in the provincial assembly. (Supra, p. 133).

22

[Although a note in the margin of the manuscript identifies this as a reference to Daniel Morris, this is obviously a reference to the Philadelphia merchant Robert Morris. Samuel Morris was a Captain in the Philadelphia Light Horse (Historical Register of Officers, p. 403.) Robert Morris, born in Liverpool, England, and raised in the Colony of Maryland was a prosperous Philadelphia merchant who helped finance the American Revolution. In 1754, he was made a member of the firm of Willing, Morris and Company, importers and exporters, to which he belonged for thirty-nine years. He was already a prominent merchant when he signed the non-importation agreement in 1765. In October of that year, he refused to be appointed to a citizen's committee to collect the Stamp Tax. Morris, a member of the First and of the Second Continental Congress voted against the Declaration of Independence in July, 1776; but signed it in August and was thereafter an ardent supporter of the war. In March, 1778, he signed the Articles of Confederation. In 1781, he was made Superintendent of Finances of the United States, a position he held until the end of the war. (DAB, VII, 219-221). The reference to Morris as Brigadier General, no doubt refers to his holding a commission in the Marines, devised by him as a means of receiving a small renumeration for his work in behalf of securing money and supplies for the Continental armies. He is officially listed as Superintendent of Finance for the United States in The Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army. The reference

to his being a "Brewer" no doubt alludes to his support of the manufacturing of Hare's American Porter, one of the several attempts at producing American goods and thus becoming independent of England (Evening Post, December 7, 1775)].

23 George Schlosser was a member of the Philadelphia Constitutional Society, a radical group formed in 1777 who led actions against merchants suspected of disloyalty during the war. Among the leaders in the Society was Dan Roberdeau who led in the intimidation of those merchants who raised their prices as a measure against the inflationary Continental currency. (Robert Levere Brunhouse, The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-90 [Philadelphia: U. of Pa. Press, 1942], pp. 19-23; 69-72; 251).

24 James Cannon, a Scotch professor of mathematics in the college at Philadelphia, was one of the writers of the Pennsylvania State Constitution, with Benjamin Franklin and the Quaker Timothy Matlock. Cannon is accredited with being the most influential in the writing of the Constitution. The Pennsylvania Constitution, the most radical among the new State constitutions, was received with a storm of protest; Cannon was publicly named as one of the "red republicans" by John Dickinson and Benjamin Rush. A contemporary of Cannon's, writing eight years later, blames "the fanatical schoolmaster," James Cannon, for one of the most hated features of the new constitution, the Council of Censors. (Nevins, pp. 150-85).

25 John Bayard was a prosperous Philadelphia merchant who signed the non-importation agreement in 1765, was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1774, and a member of the Sons of Liberty. As head of the second battalion of Philadelphia militia, he was present at the battles of Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown and Princeton. Colonel Bogard was a member of the board of war of Maryland and speaker of the Maryland Assembly. Maryland was his native state. (National Encyclopedia of American Biography I [New York: James T. White and Co., 1898], pp. 71-72).

26

[The Pennsylvania Gazette, on September 20, 1775, carried a letter-to-the-printer signed "Clericus" which gave detailed explanation of the mottoes and emblems on each bill. The Latin was rather clumsily translated but the figures were cleverly interpreted. (The Gazette, p. 1, September 20, 1775)]. Since the interpretations in the article greatly resemble those given by Stansbury, he may well have used the information in the article in writing the poem. The article may have been written by Franklin; he was in Philadelphia leading a quiet life with his children that summer. (Van Doren, Franklin, pp. 527-40) and he had been largely responsible for choosing the mottoes and designs for the bills. (Hooker, pp. 1358-9).

The History of Peru etc.[1]

1.
Most Authors describe Man a covetous Elf
That Health, Fame, and Honour would barter for Pelf,
Assembly, Convention, or Congress or King,
It is Money suits all--and of Money I sing.

2.
O'er full half the Globe it is strange to behold
The Value they place upon Silver and Gold!
Those Metals may fail them of which they so vapor--
Our Wealth knows no End--give us Blackball'd Paper![2]

3.
On the Old Current Money (now much in disgrace)
There Mercy and Justice must stare in your face!
But Mercy and Justice are now left behind,
For Mercy is dead, and poor Justice is blind![3]

4.
Our newfashion'd Bills, like our State, cut a Figure,
With Major, and Minor, Mors, Vita, and Decor,
The Latin, besure, strikes the Ear somewhat grand o,
For what is plain English to Perseverando![4]

5.
What a depth of Design we perceiv'd thro' the whole,
When the Newspapers pointed out Body and Soul;[5]
The Eagle was Britain[6]--The Hawthorn bush We--[7]
The Mottos, explain'd, to a Title agree!

6.
Then We were a Crane,[8] and Great Britain a Spear--[9]
Then We were the Corn, which She thrash'd most severe--[10]
Or We were the Harp[11] that was ever in tune--
Then We were the Beaver[12]--and now We're the Spoon![13]

7.
Then a Storm[14]--and a Calm[15]--if a Deluge were made
To prove of Great Britain we were not afraid;
The Laurel awaits us, if we do not falter,
But it's Pasteboard, not Marble that fashions the Altar.[16]

8.
Some thinking a Circle too much like a Noose,
A much larger field for their Emblems did choose,
Where ill-looking Figures so badly assorted,
Resemble some Felons from Newgate transported.[17]

9.
On another an Arm seems determin'd to weild,
In defence of the Olive a huge massy Sheild;
The Arm is Stark naked--the Sprig is so Small,
It looks just like fighting for nothing at all![18]

The Virginia First Emission

10.
But the last fashion'd Money we all must commend,
Where a Circle of Rings join in Rings without end,
Each Ring is a State, and (the Motto explains)
They all are a Congress--a Congress in Chains!
The lesser Continental Bills of fractions
of a Dollar intended for change, the
Devise by Francis Hopkinson.[19]

11.
In the midst a small Circle resplendent is seen
Surrounded with Glory and picketed in,
To make Jest of our Creed this was certainly done,
For who can believe that Thirteen are but One?

12.
On the Face of the Bill the reverse doth appear,
Almost Shorn of his beams, the Sun's quitting his Sphere,
"I am going," he cries, "who was late your delight,"
"Mind your Business--Repent--I must bid you good night."[20]

13.
"Who can take this Advice! would you have me become
From a Brigadier General, Distiller of Rum! Dan Roberdeau
No, rather at sight of a Cat let me falter,
And fight all my days with my neck in a halter."[21]

14.
"Mind your Business! cries one, fine Advice to be sure, Danl Morris
Must a great Legislator be chang'd to a Brewer!"[22]
"Shall I cries a Convention-man in a huff,
Descend the Moravian's Candles to Snuff?"[23] Geo. Sahlobser

15.
Or I, cries a third, whom Heaven form'd to rule, James Cannon
Instead of a State govern Boys at a School?[24]
Alas! cries a Col'nel, my fears are o'erflowing, John Bayard
What, again hold my Vendue, for Sixpence agoing![25]

16.
Mind your Business, good folks, of this raving give o'er,
Convinc'd of your Errors, your Folly deplore,
Return to your Duty, Great Britain is kind,
And all past Offences She'll give to the Wind.

17.
This Puppet show over--This Madness forget,
Peace, Freedom, and Safety again is your Lot,
And Stand, till in ruin Old Nature is hurl'd,
The Glory, the Envy, and Pride of the World.

17
×4
68

R R. [Joseph Stansbury]

See the Explanation of the Devices and Mottos of the Continental Bills of Credit in the Pennsylvania Gazette, published by Hall and Sellers, supposed to be written by the celebrated Dr. Franklin.[26]

---

[1]Peru here is used as a synonym for gold. Eighteenth century writers often alluded to the gold of the Incas.

[2]On June 22, 1775, the delegates to the Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia issued two million of Spanish milled dollars. [The Spanish dollar had been the coin most in use in the colonies (Paul Bakewell, Jr., Past and Present Facts About Money in the United States [New York: The MacMillan Co., 1936], p. 16).] in bills of credit on the promise of the colonies to redeem these bills. In July an additional one million dollars was ordered. However, the issues of Continental paper money did not stop at three million; six million was issued in 1775; twenty-four million in 1776; and so on until by the end of 1779, the amount reached two-hundred million in denominations ranging from one-sixth of a dollar to eighty-dollar bills. The bills rapidly depreciated so that merchants refused to accept them; in 1776, the Continental Congress gave General Washington the power to take whatever he needed for the use of his armies; if the owners would not sell merchandise for a reasonable price in Continental paper, they were to be arrested for refusal to accept the currency. (Joseph Coffin, Our American Money: A Collector's

Story [New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1940], pp. 33-34). To make matters worse, counterfeit presses in England and America, issued counterfeit notes in an effort to further de-value the currency. Between May, 1775, and January, 1779, Congress issued a series of Blue Notes, unsigned, in an effort to detect counterfeits. These Blue Notes were sent to prominent parties throughout the colonies. (John W. Haseltine, Description of the Paper Money Issued by the Continental Congress of the United States and the General Colonies [Philadelphia: John W. Haseltine, 1872], p. 506).

[3]The first Continental emission on May 10, 1775, features a band holding a balance scale on the $65 bill with the motto: "Fiat Justitia" [Let justice be done]. (Eric P. Newman, The Early Paper Money of America [Racine, Wisconsin: Whitman Publishing Co., 1967, p. 47). The bills of the 1775 emission bore the legend, "The United Colonies." In May, 1777, the legend changed to "The United States"; this became "The United States of North America" in 1779. (Grover C. Criswill, Jr., North American Currency [Iola, Wisconsin: Krause Publications, 1965], pp. 108-9).

[4]The emblems and motto cuts from the majority of the first emissions of Continental bills were taken from an emblem book of Dr. Joachim Camerarius in Benjamin Franklin's library. [The book, Symbolorum ac Emblemontum Ethico-Politico published in Mainz in 1702 is filled with Latin mottoes and, thus, Stansbury's complaint of the Latin legends on the bills]. Specifically: major and minor appear on $3 bills, featuring a harp with thirteen strings representing the thirteen colonies and the motto: "majora minoribus consonant" [the large colonies are in harmony with the small colonies]; vita and decor appear on a $4 bill issued in 1776, featuring a wild boar running towards a spear with the motto "Aut mors, aut vita decora" [either death, or an honorable life] encircling the figures; perseverando appears on a $6 bill issued in 1776 which features a beaver gnawing down a tree with the word, "Perseverando" [By perseverance] underneath. (Newman, pp. 46-48).

[5][The Colonial papers carried carefully detailed explanations of the Colonial currency].

[6] The Continental $3 bill issued on May 20, 1777, had on its face a crane fighting an eagle with the motto, "Exitus in Dubio Est" [The outcome is in doubt]. (Newman, p. 37).

[7] The Continental $5 bill issued on November 2, 1776, had on its face a bleeding hand grasping a hawthorne bush with the motto "Sustine vel abstine" [Either sustain yourself or abstain]. (Newman, p. 35).

[8] The Continental $3 bill issued on May 20, 1777 had on the back a crane. (Newman, p. 37).

[9] The Continental $4 bill issued on May 9, 1776, had on its face a wild boar running towards a spear with the motto, "Aut mors, aut vita decora" [Either death or an honorable life]. (Newman, p. 34).

[10] The Continental $3 bill issued in 1776 had on its face grain being threshed by a flail with the motto: "Tribulatio detat" [Affliction enriches]. (Newman, p. 47).

[11] The Continental $3 bill in 1775 had on its face a harp with thirteen strings with the motto "Majora minoribus consonnat" [The large colonies are in harmony with the small colonies]. (Newman, p. 46).

[12] The $6 bill, issued on November 2, 1776 had on its face a beaver gnawing down a tree with the legend, "Perseverando" [By perseverance]. (Newman, p. 46).

[13] [There was no Continental bill nor any bill issued by an individual colony which had the figure of a spoon. Stansbury's meaning is not clear].

[14] All $20 bill faces issued in May 1775, and some $30 bill backs issued during 1775-77 feature the picture of a sea with the motto "Vi concitate" [Driven by a hostile force]. (Newman, p. 46).

[15] The back of 1775-77 $20 bills and some 1775-77 $30 bills showed the sun shining on sailing ships in a calm sea with the legend: "Cessante vento conquerecemus." [When the wind ceases, we rest]. (Newman, p. 46).

[16] All $30 bill faces had the picture of a wreath on a tomb with the legend: "Si recte facies" [If you have lived righteously]. (Newman, p. 46).

[17] The manuscript correctly refers to this as "The Maryland first emission." The Maryland first emission issued on July 26, 1775, unlike the majority of Continental bills, had no circle around its figures. On the face is a propaganda-filled wood-cut by Thomas Sparrow depicting Britannia receiving a petition from the Continental Congress from a female figure representing America. This figure is trampling on a scroll marked "slavery" and holding a liberty cup in front of American troops carrying a flag marked "liberty." On the reverse side, the figures of Britain and America are depicted achieving peace. (Newman, p. 117).

[18] The manuscript incorrectly refers to this bill as "the Virginia first emission." Actually the bill described is the second emission issued on May 6, 1776. This bill had on its face a man dressed as an Indian with a shield in one hand and a spear in the other. His foot rests on a snake, which he is about to strike. Below, entwined about a sprig of olive leaves, is a scroll with the words "Sic semper tyrannus" [Thus, always, to tyrants]. The first emission issued on July 17, 1775 had on it the colonial seal: two men standing on opposite sides of a shield with the royal coats of arms. (Newman, pp. 335-6).

[19] The manuscript incorrectly attributes the design of the lesser Continental bills to Francis Hopkinson. Actually the emblems on the $35, $40, $50, $60, $70 and $80 denominations were developed by Francis Hopkinson, who unsuccessfully sought compensation for his work (Newman, p. 46), but the design of the lesser Continental bills was done by Benjamin Franklin. (Richard T. Hooker, "Franklin's Influence on Colonial and Continental Paper Money," The Numesmatist, LXIX [December, 1956], pp. 1358-9).

20

These three stanzas describe the Continental bills for fractions of a dollar issued on February 17, 1776, and designed by Benjamin Franklin. The front of the bill had a linked colony device: thirteen rings each inscribed with the names of one of the colonies. In the center is seen the legend: "we are one." On the reverse, was a sundial with a sun beaming above it. The motto "fugio" was beside the sun with the words "mind your business" written below the dial. In other words, "I, the sun fly, therefore mind your business." (New, p. 32).

21

Daniel Robrideaux (Roberdeau), was a Philadelphia merchant and Revolutionary patriot whose political career began in 1756 when he sat in the provincial assembly. (Supra, p. 133).

22

[Although a note in the margin of the manuscript identifies this as a reference to Daniel Morris, this is obviously a reference to the Philadelphia merchant Robert Morris. Samuel Morris was a Captain in the Philadelphia Light Horse (Historical Register of Officers, p. 403.) Robert Morris, born in Liverpool, England, and raised in the Colony of Maryland was a prosperous Philadelphia merchant who helped finance the American Revolution. In 1754, he was made a member of the firm of Willing, Morris and Company, importers and exporters, to which he belonged for thirty-nine years. He was already a prominent merchant when he signed the non-importation agreement in 1765. In October of that year, he refused to be appointed to a citizen's committee to collect the Stamp Tax. Morris, a member of the First and of the Second Continental Congress voted against the Declaration of Independence in July, 1776; but signed it in August and was thereafter an ardent supporter of the war. In March, 1778, he signed the Articles of Confederation. In 1781, he was made Superintendent of Finances of the United States, a position he held until the end of the war. (DAB, VII, 219-221). The reference to Morris as Brigadier General, no doubt refers to his holding a commission in the Marines, devised by him as a means of receiving a small renumeration for his work in behalf of securing money and supplies for the Continental armies. He is officially listed as Superintendent of Finance for the United States in The Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army. The reference

to his being a "Brewer" no doubt alludes to his support of the manufacturing of Hare's American Porter, one of the several attempts at producing American goods and thus becoming independent of England (Evening Post, December 7, 1775)].

23 George Schlosser was a member of the Philadelphia Constitutional Society, a radical group formed in 1777 who led actions against merchants suspected of disloyalty during the war. Among the leaders in the Society was Dan Roberdeau who led in the intimidation of those merchants who raised their prices as a measure against the inflationary Continental currency. (Robert Levere Brunhouse, The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-90 [Philadelphia: U. of Pa. Press, 1942], pp. 19-23; 69-72; 251).

24 James Cannon, a Scotch professor of mathematics in the college at Philadelphia, was one of the writers of the Pennsylvania State Constitution, with Benjamin Franklin and the Quaker Timothy Matlock. Cannon is accredited with being the most influential in the writing of the Constitution. The Pennsylvania Constitution, the most radical among the new State constitutions, was received with a storm of protest; Cannon was publicly named as one of the "red republicans" by John Dickinson and Benjamin Rush. A contemporary of Cannon's, writing eight years later, blames "the fanatical schoolmaster," James Cannon, for one of the most hated features of the new constitution, the Council of Censors. (Nevins, pp. 150-85).

25 John Bayard, was a prosperous Philadelphia merchant who signed the non-importation agreement in 1765, was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1774, and a member of the Sons of Liberty. As head of the second battalion of Philadelphia militia, he was present at the battles of Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown and Princeton. Colonel Bogard was a member of the board of war of Maryland and speaker of the Maryland Assembly. Maryland was his native state. (National Encyclopedia of American Biography I [New York: James T. White and Co., 1898], pp. 71-72).

26

[The Pennsylvania Gazette, on September 20, 1775, carried a letter-to-the-printer signed "Clericus" which gave detailed explanation of the mottoes and emblems on each bill. The Latin was rather clumsily translated but the figures were cleverly interpreted. (The Gazette, p. 1, September 20, 1775)]. Since the interpretations in the article greatly resemble those given by Stansbury, he may well have used the information in the article in writing the poem. The article may have been written by Franklin; he was in Philadelphia leading a quiet life with his children that summer. (Van Doren, Franklin, pp. 527-40) and he had been largely responsible for choosing the mottoes and designs for the bills. (Hooker, pp. 1358-9).

has been three Weeks in Newport office For-
om by her Hble Servt A. Maxwell Wedny 10

liver[1] ALS: American Philosophical Society

London 31st May 1775

Mr. Wm Lee forwarded my letter to you advis-
£100 from the Constitutional Society into the
kers Messrs. Brown Collinson & Co. towards
ss'd Inhabitants of Boston.

they voted £100 more for their relief which is
ands of the same Gentlemen on your Account
your demand and application.[5]

from America give information of an unpro-
detachment from the regular troops at Boston
ials which as far as we yet know reflects as little
ish Military as our Politicks do on the Brittish

est hopes that America directed by wisdom
will act with sufficient firmness to maintain
ho loyal subjects.

ien with whom I converse still continue fixed
the right of taxing America not represented in

Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol 22

ALS and supplied from the copy. Adam Maxwell, a friend
ttish-born schoolmaster in Newport, who soon afterward
ncovering the treachery of Dr. Benjamin Church. See
et al., eds., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene* (2 vols.
976–), p. 14 n.
:man and M.P.; see Lee to BF above, April 3.
er gifts from the Society, and BF's handling of them, see
We have found no record in BF's accounts of this third
early June, made a greater stir: the Society voted that a
e sent to BF for the relatives of "our BELOVED American
FAITHFUL to the Character of Englishmen, preferring
for that Reason only, inhumanly murdered by the King's
ngton and Concord." *Public Advertiser*, June 9, 1775. The
presented £100 from the Society to the Mass. General
es (Mass. Arch.), Oct. 25, 1775.
been published in London two days before; see the head-
vincial congress to BF above, April 26.

Parliament. I am with much respect and great Esteem Dear Sir
Your very Obedient Humble Servant RICHD OLIVER

Addressed: To / Dr Benjamin Franklyn / Philadelphia

Endorsed: Aldn Oliver

Proposed Resolutions of Thanks

AD: American Philosophical Society

The first Continental Congress had sent to London, along with its petition to the King and address to the British people, a resolution of thanks to all those in Britain who had attempted to defend the American cause.[7] The second Congress sent the Olive Branch Petition and another address, but no resolution of thanks to any of its British friends except the City of London.[8] At some point Franklin decided that such thanks were in order, and drafted the three resolves that follow. If he ever introduced them, no record seems to have survived; and there is neither internal nor external evidence of when he wrote them. In our opinion the most plausible bracket of time is between May, when his English friends and what they had tried to do were still fresh in memory, and July 8, when the Olive Branch Petition and address were adopted; and our practice is to assign a document to its earliest likely date.

Resolved [May, June, or early July, 1775]

That the Thanks of this Congress, of all America, and in our Opinion, of Britain likewise, are due to the Right Honourable the Earl of Chatham, for his benevolent Endeavours to accommodate the present unhappy Differences, and particularly for the wise and excellent Plan he offer'd in the House of Lords for that purpose, which was rejected by their Lordships without Consideration, and which if it had been received and attended to, might have been the Basis of a Reconciliation and lasting Agreement.[9]

Resolved,

That the Thanks of the Congress be presented likewise to Edmund Burke Esqr. and to David Hartley, Esq. for their generous

7. Above, XXI, 337.

8. See the note on the petition below, July 8, 1775, and *JCC*, II, 158–71.

9. Chatham's first endeavor was his motion in January to withdraw the troops from Boston, and his second was the plan introduced on Feb. 1: above, XXI, 454, 459–61, 463–4, 576–83.

Endeavours in the same common Service to the whole British Empire.[1]

Resolved,

That the Thanks of this Congress be also presented to the Right Reverend the Bishop of St. Asaph, for his most excellent Sermon and Speech on American Affairs.[2] And to all the noble Lords and Commoners in both Houses of Parliament who have been pleased to espouse the Cause of our much injured and oppressed Country.

Endorsed: Resolutions of Thanks[3]

To [Joseph Priestley?]

Unfinished draft: Library of Congress

During his voyage to Philadelphia Franklin made the observations on the sea that appear above under April 10. On May 16 he promised in a letter to Priestley to communicate to him "a valuable philosophical discovery" that he had made on the voyage; years later William Temple Franklin conjectured, in a note on that letter, that the discovery was related to variations in the temperature of sea water. This draft justifies a further conjecture, that Franklin started to redeem his promise but broke off after a short introduction; and outside evidence suggests that what he was about to explain was how to recognize the presence of the Gulf Stream. Part of the evidence is in his April observations: at two periods on the crossing, close together, considerable seaweed appeared, phosphorescence vanished, and the temperature of the water rose. The rest of the evidence is what followed this fragment when he embodied it in his "Maritime Observations," completed in 1785: he described the

1. Burke's speech and motions on conciliation, March 22 (see BF to Burke above, May 15), and Hartley's on March 27 (above, XXI, 511).

2. The sermon in 1773 and the intended speech on the Mass. Government Bill the following year: above, XX, 140 n; XXI, 321–2.

3. On the verso of one sheet BF wrote "Portugal," and on the other an arithmetical jotting and beside it a column of figures relating to the emission of bills of credit. He was on a committee to supervise the printing of $2,000,000 in such bills in specified amounts and denominations (*JCC*, II, 103, 105–6), and was apparently satisfying himself that the totals accorded with the limits set. Although this is the only contemporary evidence we have that he was involved in the issue of paper money, he later said that during his Congressional term he had taken a more active part: he had made a number of proposals, which he thought would have been effectual but which were rejected, for preventing depreciation of the currency. These he listed in a letter to Samuel Cooper, April 22, 1779, Smyth, *Writings*, VII, 293.

same three changes in the sea as indications of the Gulf Stream.[4] By the time he disembarked from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, it seems reasonable to conclude, he had a method for identifying the great current; and soon afterward he set out to impart his discovery to Priestley. Then he stopped. Perhaps he was unwilling to commit himself without further tests, which he made years later; perhaps he was distracted by the press of business. In any case a decade passed before he resumed his inquiry into the Gulf Stream.

Sir Philada. May 1775.

About 5 or 6 Years since, there was an Application made by the Board of Customs at Boston, to the Lords of the Treasury, complaining that the Packets between Falmouth and New York were generally a Fortnight longer in their Passages, than Merchant Ships from London to Rhodeisland, and proposing that for the future they should be ordered to Rhodeisland instead of New York.

Being then concern'd in the Management of the American Post-Office, I happened to be consulted on the Occasion: And it appearing strange to me, that there should be such a Difference between two Places scarce a Days Run asunder, especially when the Merchant Ships are generally deeper laden and more weakly mann'd than the Packets, and had from London the whole Length of the River and Channel farther to run before they left the Land of England, I could not but think the Fact misunderstood or misrepresented.[5]

From Nathaniel Seidel[6]

Two copies:[7] Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Dear and honourd Sir May 1775.

Your safe return from England into this Province, at so very

4. Smyth, *Writings*, IX, 394–7. For the "Maritime Observations" see the note on BF's speculation above, April 5.

5. See above, XV, 246–8.

6. Seidel (1718–82), born in Silesia of a Bohemian Protestant family, emigrated to America as a young man to work as a Moravian missionary. He was consecrated bishop in 1758, and four years later succeeded Bishop Spangenberg as head of the provincial board of the church in America. Edmund De Schweinitz, "Some of the Fathers of the American Moravian Church," Moravian Hist. Soc. *Trans.*, II (1877–86), 219–27.

7. By the same copyist, and of two distinct drafts. One, undated and with

Resolutions on Trade Submitted to Congress

AD: National Archives; draft:[6] American Philosophical Society

News of the second Restraining Act infuriated and alarmed Congress. On July 12, 1775, it appointed a committee, of which Franklin was a member, to formulate a program for protecting the colonies' trade.[7] Three days later, on Franklin's motion, the nonexportation agreement was modified to permit paying in produce for imported war material;[8] but this concession solved only one of the problems that the agreement posed. The committee addressed the others in two closely similar sets of resolutions, reported on the 21st by Franklin and Richard Henry Lee. Both proposed opening American commerce to the world outside the empire.[9]

Franklin had long disapproved, both in practice and principle, of Parliamentary constraints on American trade;[1] he was ready for a clean sweep. The content of his proposals showed his daring, and the method of implementing them showed his moderation. The ports would not be opened if the Restraining Act was repealed at any time before July 20, 1776; once opened on that date they would remain so, come what might, for two years at the least. Just as Franklin had acquiesced in the Olive Branch Petition to explore the last hope of compromise,[2] so he now offered the British government a year in which to reconsider its course. His fellow delegates, however, were not yet ready to commit themselves, even conditionally and in the future, to a declaration of commercial independence. They had lived so long within the closed system of the Navigation Acts that few could envisage dispensing with it. The resolutions were shelved, and the idea that underlay them was not adopted until almost nine months later.[3]

6. On the verso of the draft BF made unrelated jottings. First are several columns of figures, apparently British currency. Second are the sketch and Latin mottoes reproduced below, for reasons explained there, in the editorial note on BF's design for currency, Feb. 21. Third are notes, apparently written in pencil and for the most part overwritten in ink: "Ready to receive Irish Woollens whenever they shall ascertain Methods of sending them, free of all Imposition. / Resolve Not to treat separately. / Resolve concerning the Power of Parliament to alter Constitutions. Lord Chatham's Resolution. / Difference has been whether we shall give our Money, or have it taken from us by Force, contrary to our Rights."

7. See *JCC*, II, 125, 177.

8. See the draft resolution above, July 14.

9. *JCC*, II, 200–1.

1. See above, XXI, 175–7.

2. See the editorial note on the petition above, July 8.

3. The proposal was debated in October, December, January, and February,

At some time during those months Franklin's resolutions were apparently reintroduced. Someone brought them up to date by adding to the AD, in an unidentifiable hand, an introductory clause about the abundance of grain after the harvest of 1775, and by making other minor changes. These have understandably confused modern editors about both the wording and the date of what Franklin submitted.[4] His draft, which except for a few phrases noted below is identical with our text, permits us to delete silently the words added later, and to supply in brackets those later effaced.

[On or before July 21, 1775]

Resolved, That from and after the 20th of July [1776 being one full Year after] the Day appointed by a late Act of the Parliament of Great Britain for restraining the Trade of the Confederate Colonies,[5] all the Custom-Houses therein (if the said Act be not first repealed) shall be shut up, and all the Officers of the same discharged from the Execution of their several Functions; and all the Ports of the said Colonies are hereby declared to be thenceforth open to the Ships of every State in Europe that will admit our Commerce and protect it; who may [bring in] and expose to Sale free of all Duties their respective Produce and Manufactures, and every kind of Merchandise, excepting Teas, and the Merchandize of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands.[6]

Resolved, That we will to the utmost of our Power maintain and support this Freedom of Commerce for two[7] Years certain after its Commencement, any Reconciliation between us and Britain notwithstanding;[8] and as much longer beyond that Term, as the

1775–76; but it was not finally adopted until April 6, 1776, and then with the proviso that colonies might levy their own import duties. *JCC*, III, 457, 477–80; IV, 59, 62, 159, 258–9.

4. Worthington Ford printed the text in the *JCC*, already cited, under July 21 as if the alterations were then a part of it; they appear in comparing that text with ours. Burnett and Smith assigned the draft, which we are convinced preceded the final version, to 1776 when the resolutions were reintroduced in their altered form: Burnett, *Letters*, I, 364; Smith, *Letters*, III, 305.

5. The second Restraining Act, 15 Geo. III, c. 18, incorporated and expanded the first.

6. The comma after "Teas" obscures the meaning, which is that they and British merchandise are excluded. This paragraph would have closed, along with the customs houses, the loophole in the nonexportation agreement whereby rice could be cleared for Britain to be re-exported from there.

7. BF first wrote "one," then "three," before settling for two.

8. The draft omits this prepositional clause.

Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol 22

volumes that we know were in Franklin's library; this fact suggests that he had a hand in the adaptation. On February 17 and 21, 1776, Congress authorized another four million, and included for the first time bills for four fractions of a dollar, ranging from one-sixth to two-thirds. These fractional bills were to have a new design,[2] which has particular numismatic significance because it became, with slight modification, that of the first coin issued by the United States, the so-called Fugio Cent of 1787. Franklin has been widely credited with being the original designer.[3] The drawings reproduced here persuade us that he was responsible at least for the back of the bill.

The first drawing indicates rays emanating from the central circle, as they did on the bill; the second drawing contains the same legend as that on the bill. The remaining question is whether those two designs were Franklin's or merely found their way into his papers. Here the sketch on the back of his draft resolutions on trade assumes importance.[4] It was his beyond any doubt, and the Latin legend appears to be in the same hand as the English legend on the second drawing; if so both were his. When these bits of evidence are put together, the conclusion is hard to escape that Franklin was the designer.

From William Goforth[5]

ALS: American Philosophical Society

Sir Three Rivers 22d.[-23] Feb. 1776.

I have been informd that it is a Custom in the polite world when about to address a Stranger to Apoligize for so doing. But

2. *JCC*, II, 103, 105–6; III, 390, 398; IV, 157, 164–5. The new design was ordered on Feb. 21.

3. See in particular Eric P. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America*, (Racine, Wis., 1967), pp. 32–3.

4. The sketch was one of a number of jottings unrelated to the draft itself; see the note on the resolutions above, under July 21.

5. Goforth (1731–1807) had been a New York artisan and radical leader. Bernard Mason, *The Road to Independence: the Revolutionary Movement in New York, 1773–77* (Lexington, Ky., 1966), pp. 39 n, 72n; Carl Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1776* (reprint with foreword by A.M. Schlesinger; Madison, Wis., 1968), pp. 132, 168; Staughton Lynd, "The Mechanics in New York Politics, 1774–1788," *Labor History*, V (1964), 239. Four companies of Goforth's regiment had been dispatched to Ticonderoga the previous summer: Justin H. Smith, *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony: Canada and the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York and London, 1907), I, 256. He himself explains his position at Trois Rivières, where he remained until April; and he was in the battle there the following June. The next month he resigned from the army, after being promoted to major in another regiment

Papers of Benjamin Franklin Vol 22

Franklin's Design of Continental Paper Currency

Top, two drawings on a loose sheet among Franklin's papers; *bottom, left and right*, sketch and motto on the verso of his resolutions on trade (see above, p. 126 n), and the back of one of the fractional Continental bills.

volumes that we know were in Franklin's library; this fact suggests that he had a hand in the adaptation. On February 17 and 21, 1776, Congress authorized another four million, and included for the first time bills for four fractions of a dollar, ranging from one-sixth to two-thirds. These fractional bills were to have a new design,[2] which has particular numismatic significance because it became, with slight modification, that of the first coin issued by the United States, the so-called Fugio Cent of 1787. Franklin has been widely credited with being the original designer.[3] The drawings reproduced here persuade us that he was responsible at least for the back of the bill.

The first drawing indicates rays emanating from the central circle, as they did on the bill; the second drawing contains the same legend as that on the bill. The remaining question is whether those two designs were Franklin's or merely found their way into his papers. Here the sketch on the back of his draft resolutions on trade assumes importance.[4] It was his beyond any doubt, and the Latin legend appears to be in the same hand as the English legend on the second drawing; if so both were his. When these bits of evidence are put together, the conclusion is hard to escape that Franklin was the designer.

From William Goforth[5]

ALS: American Philosophical Society

Sir Three Rivers 22d.[-23] Feb. 1776.

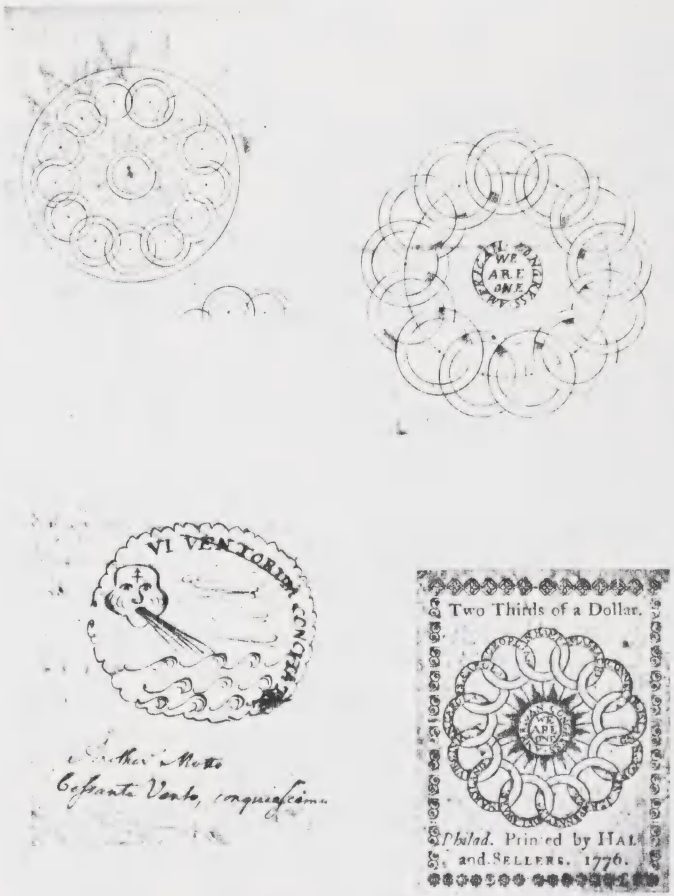
I have been informd that it is a Custom in the polite world when about to address a Stranger to Apoligize for so doing. But

2. *JCC*, II, 103, 105–6; III, 390, 398; IV, 157, 164–5. The new design was ordered on Feb. 21.

3. See in particular Eric P. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America*, (Racine, Wis., 1967), pp. 32–3.

4. The sketch was one of a number of jottings unrelated to the draft itself; see the note on the resolutions above, under July 21.

5. Goforth (1731–1807) had been a New York artisan and radical leader. Bernard Mason, *The Road to Independence: the Revolutionary Movement in New York, 1773–77* (Lexington, Ky., 1966), pp. 39 n, 72n; Carl Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1776* (reprint with foreword by A.M. Schlesinger; Madison, Wis., 1968), pp. 132, 168; Staughton Lynd, "The Mechanics in New York Politics, 1774–1788," *Labor History*, V (1964), 239. Four companies of Goforth's regiment had been dispatched to Ticonderoga the previous summer: Justin H. Smith, *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony: Canada and the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York and London, 1907), I, 256. He himself explains his position at Trois Rivières, where he remained until April; and he was in the battle there the following June. The next month he resigned from the army, after being promoted to major in another regiment



Franklin's Design of Continental Paper Currency

Top, two drawings on a loose sheet among Franklin's papers; *bottom, left and right*, sketch and motto on the verso of his resolutions on trade (see above, p. 126 n), and the back of one of the fractional Continental bills.

volumes that we know were in Franklin's library, this fact suggests that he had a hand in the adaptation. On February 17 and 21, 1776, Congress authorized another four million, and included for the first time bills for four fractions of a dollar, ranging from one-sixth to two-thirds. These fractional bills were to have a new design,[2] which has particular numismatic significance because it became, with slight modification, that of the first coin issued by the United States, the so-called Fugio Cent of 1787. Franklin has been widely credited with being the original designer.[3] The drawings reproduced here persuade us that he was responsible at least for the back of the bill.

The first drawing indicates rays emanating from the central circle, as they did on the bill; the second drawing contains the same legend as that on the bill. The remaining question is whether those two designs were Franklin's or merely found their way into his papers. Here the sketch on the back of his draft resolutions on trade assumes importance.[4] It was his beyond any doubt, and the Latin legend appears to be in the same hand as the English legend on the second drawing; if so both were his. When these bits of evidence are put together, the conclusion is hard to escape that Franklin was the designer.

From William Goforth[5]

ALS: American Philosophical Society

Sir Three Rivers 22d.[-23] Feb. 1776.

I have been informd that it is a Custom in the polite world when about to address a Stranger to Apoligize for so doing. But

2. *JCC*, II, 103, 105–6; III, 390, 398; IV, 157, 164–5. The new design was ordered on Feb. 21.

3. See in particular Eric P. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America*, (Racine, Wis., 1967), pp. 32–3.

4. The sketch was one of a number of jottings unrelated to the draft itself; see the note on the resolutions above, under July 21.

5. Goforth (1731–1807) had been a New York artisan and radical leader. Bernard Mason, *The Road to Independence: the Revolutionary Movement in New York, 1773–77* (Lexington, Ky., 1966), pp. 39 n, 72n; Carl Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1776* (reprint with foreword by A.M. Schlesinger; Madison, Wis., 1968), pp. 132, 168; Staughton Lynd, "The Mechanics in New York Politics, 1774–1788," *Labor History*, V (1964), 239. Four companies of Goforth's regiment had been dispatched to Ticonderoga the previous summer: Justin H. Smith, *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony: Canada and the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York and London, 1907), I, 256. He himself explains his position at Trois Rivières, where he remained until April; and he was in the battle there the following June. The next month he resigned from the army, after being promoted to major in another regiment

Franklin's Design of Continental Paper Currency

Top, two drawings on a loose sheet among Franklin's papers; *bottom, left and right*, sketch and motto on the verso of his resolutions on trade (see above, p. 126 n), and the back of one of the fractional Continental bills.

condition of history in the middle colonies is more desperate than is actually the case.

Still, Zuckerman encourages his readers to luxuriate in this "tangle of confirmations and contraditions" (p. 17); it is part of the challenge of rediscovery. But it can be hoped that readers with the requisite power and authority also will respond by encouraging more new books, additional articles, and, especially, better guides to source materials and microfilm and letterpress editions of the many neglected and hard to use middle colony records so the scholarship of this region need no longer lag behind that of New England and the southern colonies. Certainly, we should be embarrassed to respond in any other fashion to this fresh collection of fresh essays by fresh, intelligent, young historians.

University of Illinois
Chicago JON BUTLER

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volume 22, *March 23, 1775, through October 27, 1776*. Edited by WILLIAM B. WILLCOX ET AL. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982. 1iii, 726p. Illustrations, chronology, bibliographical notes, index. $45.00.)

Volume 22 of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* covers that extraordinarily busy interval that Franklin, aged 69 and 70, spent in America, following a decade in England and preceding a decade in France. During his sixteen American months, Franklin was elected to the Continental Congress (where he was appointed to several of its most important committees, including the committee on secret correspondence), served as Postmaster General, conferred with George Washington at the army's headquarters in Cambridge, was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly, journeyed to Canada at the behest of the Continental Congress, served as President of the Pennsylvania Convention, negotiated with Lord Howe on the possible terms for peace, and was elected a commissioner to France. Among its numerous contributions to Franklin scholarship, this volume proves that Franklin was a consistent and early advocate for independence, frequently urging this radical course in public and private throughout 1775. He wrote to Silas Dean on August 27, 1775: "When we are no longer fascinated with the Idea of a speedy Reconciliation, we shall exert ourselves to some purpose. 'Till then Things will be done by Halves."

Despite a whirlwind of official activities involving him in hundreds of committee meetings and committee reports, Franklin nevertheless found time to demonstrate his splendid literary artistry. His best compositions of the

period are the letter of July 5, 1775 (never sent), to his old friend William Strahan, concluding "You are now my enemy, and I am, Yours, B. Franklin"; his burlesque song "The King's Own Regulars," published November 27, 1775, which, as Charles Carroll of Carrollton said, "abounds with good wit"; the mock epitaph on John Bradshaw, a regicide responsible for the execution of Charles I, which concludes with the sentiment Thomas Jefferson adopted as his life-motto, "REBELLION TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD"; and the letter to Lord Howe of July 20, 1776, which calls the British Empire "that fine and noble China Vase." All these, except the song, are frequently reprinted in selections from Franklin's writings. Although the song has appeared in such standard anthologies as Frank Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution* (1860) and Edward A. Dolph's *"Sound Off!"* (1942), it has not hitherto been attributed (except by specialists) to Franklin. I wish the editors had printed the excellent introduction to the song which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for March 30, 1776, for it too, I believe, was by Franklin. Although the editors puzzle over "what tune he had in mind" for "The King's Own Regulars," the varying length of the lines makes it apparent that the song could not have been sung to a set tune; and the *Post* text explains that the tune named "is a kind of recitativo, like the chaunting of the prose psalms in cathedrals."

I also believe that Franklin wrote two fine essays on early American symbols which, chronologically, belong in this volume. Since no modern scholars have, to my knowledge, attributed these essays to Franklin, I do not fault the editors for not including them. The first, a fascinating essay on *"the Devices on the Continental Bills of Credit. . .with my Conjectures of their Meaning"* by "CLERICUS," appeared as the lead article in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 20, 1775. As the pseudonym "CLERICUS" implies, the tone is formal, learned, and explanatory. The subject had long interested Franklin who, more than twenty-seven years earlier, had designed at least twenty "Devices and Mottoes" for the flags of the Associator Companies. Contemporaries such as William Browne (Harvard, 1755) attributed the devices and mottos on the Continental currency to Franklin; and, although it is known that Francis Hopkinson designed some of the currency, it seems likely that he had Franklin's advice and help. At any rate, the essay by "CLERICUS" is on a subject of great interest to Franklin and possesses his characteristic opinions. It enjoyed considerable contemporary fame. Francis Hopkinson wrote a follow-up essay "On the Use and Abuse of Mottos," *Pennsylvania Magazine, Supplement* for 1775, which he reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Essays;* and Joseph Stansbury, the Philadelphia Loyalist poet, devoted a sixty-eight-line poem to the "CLERICUS" essay, which, he noted, was "supposed to be written by the celebrated Dr. Franklin."

The other piece on American symbolism is more fun. A long, tongue-in-cheek analysis of the rattlesnake as an emblem of America by "AN AMERICAN GUESSER" appeared as the lead essay in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for December 27, 1775. The rattlesnake as an American patriotic emblem was, of course, one of Franklin's numerous original inconographic creations, and the splendid piece in the *Journal* contains that inimitable naiveté of tone that John Adams so admired in Franklin's writings, as well as the extraordinary fertility of imagination and distinctiveness of opinion that characterize Franklin.

Although it is not surprising that the editors ignored these two essays, I did expect them to print his "Method of making salt-petre at Hanover, 1766," for Edwin Wolf, 2nd, suggested in his *Annual Report of the Library Company of Philadelphia for 1965* that it was by Franklin. This brief piece appeared in a pamphlet published by the Continental Congress (Franklin served on its committee to encourage the domestic production of saltpeter, an essential ingredient of gunpowder), entitled *Several Methods of Making Salt-Petre* (Philadelphia: Bradfords, 1775), pp. 7-8. Although the short description of the Hanover manufactory is anonymous, Benjamin Rush, on p. 9 of the same pamphlet, says that Franklin has described for him the extremely simple method by which saltpeter was made in Hanover. But there is better evidence than Rush's implied attribution, for the piece first appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy* for August 2, 1775. In the prefatory letter, Joseph Palmer (a Massachusetts manufacturer and correspondent of Robert Treat Paine, who was on the saltpeter committee with Franklin) said that "the following method of making it, as practiced in Hanover. . .is related, in substance, by Dr. Franklin." And when Thomas Paine reprinted the piece in his *Pennsylvania Magazine* for August, 1775, p. 360, he too said it was "related by Dr. Franklin."

With their usual expertise and intelligence, the editors have written dozens of excellent brief headnotes and splendidly annotated innumerable references throughout the volume, but such is the perversity of reviewers (and of human nature) that I nevertheless fault them on two counts. First, they evade the most interesting single question that a student expects them to answer in this volume: What changes did Franklin make in Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence? Although the editors say at one point that "His contributions to Jefferson's draft are discussed in the headnote on the latter's note to him" (p. 474n), that headnote only says that both Adams and Franklin "made small changes in phrasing." They do not say what these "small changes" were, and a footnote tells the reader that "Authorities differ on the question" (p. 486n). Since the question of Franklin's contributions turns upon the identification of Franklin's handwriting in Jefferson's rough draft of the Declaration and since the editors are great authorities on his handwriting, they are the logical people

to give us their opinion. Besides, I do not consider Franklin's insertion of the words "abolishing our most valuable Laws" merely a small change in phrasing. There is no comparable clause in Jefferson's original, and this addition was kept throughout the later revisions by Jefferson and by Congress. But perhaps the editors do not accept James Munves's argument in *Thomas Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence* (1978), p. 74, that Franklin made this addition. Who knows?

Finally, the editors are, as usual, weak on Franklin's devices and emblems. In this volume, there are two signal instances of Franklin's penchant for designing appropriate visual images: his work on the Continental paper currency and on the Great Seal of the United States. All persons interested in the subject will be delighted with the editors' discovery of three drawings among his papers, two of which are sources for the designs on the one-sixth, one-third, one-half, and two-thirds of a dollar, Continental paper currency, in 1776. But, alas, their treatment of these drawings is skimpy. No one can be expert in all fields, but why could not the editors consult some specialist like Dr. Frank H. Sommer of the Winterthur Museum on the visual materials? Indeed, one feature that *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* has needed from its inception has been a series of advisory specialists such as A. Owen Aldridge on literature, I. Bernard Cohen on science (he was added to the "Editorial Advisory Committee" beginning with volume 15), Frank H. Sommer on iconography, and Edwin Wolf, 2nd, on Franklin's books. Readers would like to know how original was Franklin's design of that interlocked series of thirteen circles symbolizing the union of the colonies, and they would be interested to learn that it was wonderfully successful, appearing in numerous later places, including the flag of the Second New Hampshire Regiment of 1777 and Josiah Wedgewood's china. And what about that third drawing? Was it, as it appears to be, the original sketch for the design and mottos on the $20 Continental currency of 1775? How could it be, if it were not drawn until after February 21, 1776?. . .Such questions, unfortunately, are passed over in silence. The editors are consistently excellent on Franklin's politics and its historical contexts but consistently uninformative on some areas of Franklin's universal genius, including iconography.

University of Delaware J. A. Leo Lemay

Linked Rings

Early American Unity Illustrated

by David P. McBride, ANA 90454

In early America, numismatic iconography on coins and paper money did not stand alone, isolated from other creations of the time; instead, patriotic numismatic designs often played roles which both influenced and were influenced by a wide variety of decorative and practical objects. Rather than being spontaneous artistic conceptions, numismatic designs showed themselves to be a deliberate result of the demands of the time and the artistic trends and traditions available to satisfy them.

One of the first designs to exemplify the young nation's independent character and optimistic aspirations was thirteen linked rings, one for each original colony, arranged in a circular pattern. This emblem has been found used in a variety of media and applications from eighteenth-century America. In some cases the names of the individual colonies or states were inscribed on the links in geographical order running clockwise from north to south. When necessary, the names were abbreviated to fit them onto the interlinked rings.

An explicit "American" identity was rendered through the symbolic content of this motif. Each linked circle contributed to the whole circle, and the geometrical and symmetrical whole was completed only through the participation of the component links. The circle, being without end, had from ancient days been a symbol of eternity, continuity, and wholeness. The thirteen colonies' desire for independence from Great Britain and their need for mutual cooperation both to achieve this and to exist as a new nation, were characterized by the motif of linked rings.

A similar motif was used in Greco-Roman commemorative reliefs circa 150 B.C. to 200 A.D. In these the geographical names of Asia Minor cities attending Grecian games were enclosed in rings, linked together or in parallel rows.[1] In addition, a pattern of continuous rings was the basis of a Roman mosaic pavement found in Pompeii.[2] In the iconography of Christian art, three interlinked circles symbolized the co-eternal nature of the Trinity. Linked rings are found on manuscript paintings of Celtic-Anglo Saxon origin; adjoining rings were also used by English neoclassical architect Robert Adam in the ceiling of the music room of Harewood House, Yorkshire (completed between 1759 and 1771).[3] The pattern probably occurred sporadically in every style.

As a specifically American symbol, numismatic and otherwise, the device of linked rings was short-lived, lasting only about forty years, not long compared to the enduring symbols of the eagle and Liberty. Nonetheless, the rings of linked colonies were a striking representation of early America's optimistic new national identity. What was only a dream when introduced as an American symbol in the third quarter of the 1700's had become a reality by its decline in use around 1815. This survey will illustrate the widespread use of the rings in a variety of applications and will also add historical information as space permits.

NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS, COMPANY COLORS—1775

Incomplete references exist to a flag dated 1775 by vexillologist (student of flags) James Hodgson in his bibliography on American flags, seals, and insignia.[4] It is called the Newburyport flag because it was claimed, when exhibited in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in 1876 for the Centennial, that it was carried by a Newburyport, Massachusetts, company during the Revolutionary War. In *The Origin of the Flag* by Edward F. Jones, 1896, p. 11, it was described thus: "The flag has a white canton, on which is painted a green pine tree in a blue field, *surrounded by a chain circle of thirteen links*, each link grasped by a mailed hand coming out of a cloud." [Italics added.]

No. 174667
ONE SIXTH OF A
DOLLAR,
According to a Resolution of Congress, passed at Philadelphia, February 17, 1776.
MIND YOUR BUSINESS
¶ONE SIXTH.¶
One Sixth of a Dollar.
WE ARE ONE
Printed by Hall & Sellers, in Philadelphia. 1776.

Fig. 1. Continental Currency fractional note of February 17, 1776. 13 rings. (Height 80mm, Width 60mm) The rings motif on the reverse provides a design model for numerous early American objects.
THE EARLY PAPER MONEY OF AMERICA, BY ERIC P. NEWMAN

Additional information about the flag is lacking, and even its present location is a mystery. During the 1976 Bicentennial celebrations, the Newburyport Marine Militia's marching unit carried a reproduction of the flag. Newburyport did have two companies in the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775; however, the records do not indicate if the original flag was carried there or not.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY FRACTIONAL ISSUES OF FEBRUARY 17, 1776

The Continental Currency fractional issues authorized by Resolution of the Continental Congress on February 17, 1776, are the first fully documented American use of the linked rings motif to symbolize early national unity (Fig. 1). The reverse on the rag paper notes of $1/6, $1/3, $1/2, and $2/3 is dominated by a circle composed of thirteen linked rings with each identified as a colony and arranged geographically from north to south in a clockwise direction with New Hampshire at the 12:00 position. With minor variations this arrangement was to be employed elsewhere whenever names of states were added onto the rings. Inside the ring motif on the notes is the motto WE ARE ONE surrounded by AMERICAN CONGRESS with a sunburst extending to the rings.

A central feature on the obverse is a sun and sundial with the legends FUGIO (Latin, "I fly") and MIND YOUR BUSINESS, which imply that time flies, so attend to your business. This sentiment has often been attributed to Benjamin Franklin because it is similar to thoughts he published in *Poor Richard's Almanac*.[5] Others thought to have been possible designers of the notes are Francis Hopkinson and David Rittenhouse.[6] Actually, the designer's true identity is still a mystery despite the extensive research to support one or the other, especially Ben Franklin. In 1956 an E.J. Theisen of East Orange, New Jersey, published a circular in which he offered a $250 reward for information

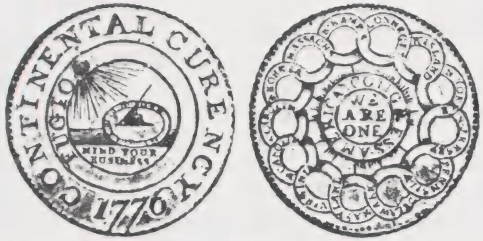


Fig. 2. Continental Dollar Pattern–1776. 13 rings. (25mm) The design elements were derived from the Continental Currency fractional notes.

on who the designer was of the 1787 Fugio cent which was composed of designs and mottoes derived from the Continental Currency fractional notes.[7] Although the offer did trigger several research articles, the designer was not positively identified and the money was never released.

The issue of $1,000,000 in fractional notes was printed by the Philadelphia firm of Hall and Sellers, manufacturers of all the Continental Currency issues.[8] The low denominations were an effort on the part of the Continental Congress to ease a scarcity of minor coins. These notes marked the first numismatic use of the linked rings design in America and provided a primary design model for a number of eighteenth century artifacts to follow.

THE CONTINENTAL CURRENCY PATTERN DOLLARS—1776

A dollar-sized coin, now considered to have been either a pattern or a trial piece, the Continental Dollar of 1776 used the linked rings motif on its reverse (Fig. 2). The design elements are very similar to those first used on both the obverse and reverse of the fractional notes. Although no documented record of Congressional authorization to strike these pieces has come to light, they do bear the inscriptions CONTINENTAL CURRENCY and AMERICAN CONGRESS. An obverse inscription on some pieces, E.G. FECIT, has been demonstrated by numismatic researcher Eric P. Newman to mean "made by Elisha Gallaudet," a New York engraver of paper currency.[9]

That the pieces were struck in 1776 (in silver, brass, and pewter) is confirmed by a British officer's published account in *The London Chronicle* of December 24, 1776, entitled "Extract from an Officer of the 64th Regiment, in Yorkisland, to his Friend in Town." He wrote "The Congress have established a Mint at Philadelphia, where they coin copper and silver pieces about the size of half a crown...."[10] The mint mentioned is a mystery since no evidence of it has yet been uncovered. The pieces were again mentioned in *Watson's Chemical Essays*, London, February 1786, where the metal composition of pewter and the design elements were recorded.[11]

The Continental Dollars were catalogued by Eric P. Newman in 1952, whereupon four distinct reverses were identified. Three of these, reverses A, B, and C, have the Massachusetts link counterclockwise from the New Hampshire link, a geographical error corrected in the other die, reverse D.[12]

The interpretation now is that the silver specimens were actual patterns, that the brass specimens were die-trials, and that the pewter specimens were possibly distributed to members of the Congress to gain their support for a new coinage. An absence of the one dollar denomination in all Continental Currency paper issues lasted from July 22, 1776, to January 14, 1779; this fact supports the notion that the Congress was considering the striking of one dollar coins, an event which did not occur until 1794.

About the Author

A collecting interest in early American coinage led author David P. McBride into a study on the "linked rings" motif which was an early American numismatic design; it was to grow into a fascinating research project which would take four years to complete.

Born in New Castle, Pennsylvania, McBride graduated from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and is currently Director of Alternative Education for the Summit County Schools in Frisco, Colorado. He holds membership in the ANA, the American Numismatic Society, and the British Numismatic Society. Other collecting interests include Canadian blacksmith tokens, 18th century British tradesmen tokens, and imitation regal halfpence and farthings.

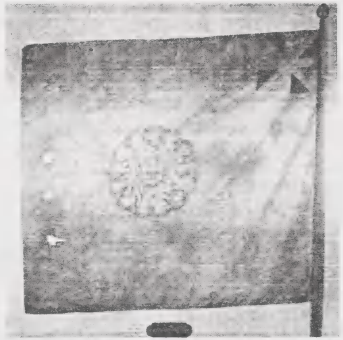


Fig. 3. New Hampshire Second Regimental Colors–1777. 13 rings. (Height 5', Width 5'6") New Hampshire ring is at the 12:00 position.
COURTESY NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Fig. 4. New Hampshire Second Regimental Colors–center area. This was copied from the reverse of a Continental Currency fractional note.
COURTESY NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW HAMPSHIRE SECOND REGIMENTAL COLORS—1777

One of the flags or colors of the New Hampshire Second Regiment bears in its center a design almost identical to the linked rings motif used on the Continental Currency fractional notes (Fig. 3). It is clearly a copy of the currency's rings, and close comparison of the two reveals only minute differences (Fig. 4).

The flag is made of buff-colored silk with the central design painted in gold with black lettering. In the dexter corner are eight triangles, alternately red and blue, so arranged as to form two crosses, one upright, the other diagonal. The motto WE ARE ONE appears in the center of the rings as on the currency; however, AMERICAN CONGRESS is omitted. Each ring bears the name of one of the thirteen colonies with the New Hampshire link at the prominent 12:00 position, presumably the reason this design was chosen for regimental colors.

This particular flag and another from the same regiment have the unfortunate

distinction of being the only American regimental colors captured by the British during the Revolutionary War.[13] Three New Hampshire regiments were organized by the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire in May of 1777. The colors were made somewhere between that time and their capture near Fort Anne, New York, on July 8, 1777, by the British Ninth Foot Regiment which had been detached by Sir John Burgoyne. This occurred only a few days after he captured Fort Ticonderoga.

The Ninth Foot was under a Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, and the captured New Hampshire colors were held up as a prize after the British victory, according to the Historical Record of the Foot. Three months later on October 17, 1777, the Foot was surrendered with the rest of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga. Officers were permitted to keep their personal baggage as part of Burgoyne's terms of surrender, so Lieutenant-Colonel Hill hid the colors in his belongings and kept them until his subsequent return to England. Once there he presented them to King George III, a gesture for which he was made an aide-de-camp and promoted to colonel in the Army. The colors remained in the possession of the Hill family until purchased by Edward Tuck, who in 1912 presented them to the New Hampshire Historical Society, where they are now on permanent display.[14] The New Hampshire Committee of Safety records show that payment for the colors was not authorized until July 12, 1977, four days after they were captured at Fort Anne![15]

GEORGIA AND VERMONT PAPER CURRENCIES—1777 AND 1781

The various colonies issued paper money to help finance their governments and to help support the war effort. Later, a few of them also struck coins before legislation was enacted by the Federal government to prohibit the states from engaging in these activities.

The Georgia Assembly issued paper currency by Resolutions on June 8, 1777, and October 10, 1777, which were "for the Support of the Continental Troops, and other Expenses of Government." The eight dollar denominations of each issue utilized a simple linked rings device in the lower right corner (Fig. 5). Printed in blue, the rings surround "C Congress" in script.[16]

Vermont's only Colonial Currency issue, authorized by its Assembly in February, 1781, also employed the rings motif in a seal, but with notable variations. Vermont's feeling of independence from the other colonies was illustrated through the configuration of the links. On one variety, instead of a closed circle, thirteen rings are joined while one remains loose (Fig. 6). Another represents the same thought by having the loose ring positioned at

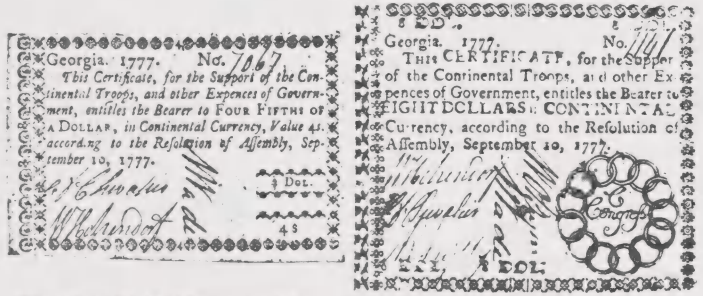

Georgia. 1777. No. 1067
This Certificate, for the Support of the Continental Troops, and other Expences of Government, entitles the Bearer to Four Fifths of a Dollar, in Continental Currency, Value 4s. according to the Resolution of Assembly, September 10, 1777.
⅘ Dol.
4 s
Georgia. 1777. No.
This CERTIFICATE, for the Support of the Continental Troops, and other Expences of Government, entitles the Bearer to EIGHT DOLLARS in CONTINENTAL Currency, according to the Resolution of Assembly, September 10, 1777.
Congress
8 DOL.

Fig. 5. Georgia Colonial Currency. 13 rings. (Height 75mm, Width 88mm) The rings motif was used on the eight dollar denominations in the issues of June 8, 1777, hand October 10, 1777.
THE EARLY PAPER MONEY OF AMERICA, BY ERIC P. NEWMAN

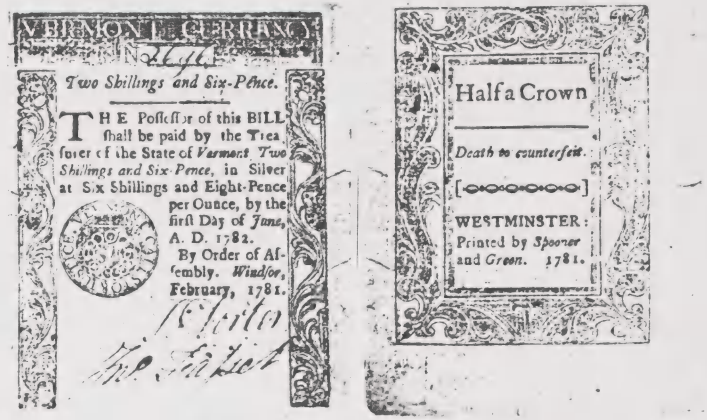

VERMONT GERRANY
No. 46
Two Shillings and Six-Pence.
THE Poſſeſſor of this BILL ſhall be paid by the Treaſurer of the State of Vermont, Two Shillings and Six-Pence, in Silver at Six Shillings and Eight-Pence per Ounce, by the firſt Day of June, A. D. 1782.
By Order of Aſſembly. Windſor, February, 1781.
Halfa Crown
Death to counterfeit.
WESTMINSTER:
Printed by Spooner and Green. 1781.

Fig. 6. Vermont Colonial Currency–issue of February, 1781. 14 rings: 13 joined, 1 loose. (Height 87mm, Width 72mm).
THE EARLY PAPER MONEY OF AMERICA, BY ERIC P. NEWMAN

Fig. 7. John Chalmer's Shilling–"Rings" variety–1783. 13 rings. (13mm)

6:00 above a string of thirteen linked rings which run from 4:00 to 8:00. Surrounding both types is the legend VERMONT CALLS FOR JUSTICE with scales also used as a device. Vermonters were not very fond of the paper currency since £24,500 out of the £25,155 issued was redeemed by the Vermont treasury by 1787.[17] The notes were printed by Spooner and Green in Westminster, Vermont.

JOHN CHALMER'S "RINGS" SHILLING—1783

The first recorded private concern to adopt the device was an Annapolis, Maryland, gold and silversmith, John Chalmers. In 1783 he issued shillings, sixpence, and three-pence pieces in silver at his shop on Cornhill and Fleet Streets; these were the first privately issued silver coins in America.[18]

One of the three shilling types is known as the "Rings" variety (Fig. 7). A circular chain of twelve linked rings and an additional ring interlinked onto the lower three is the central design feature of the reverse. Also included in the symbolism are a staff with a liberty cap, thirteen stars, and an eye. The obverse has the legends I. CHALMERS, ANNAPOLIS, 1783 and EQUAL TO ONE SHI.

A German traveller in this country named Dr. John David Schöpf reported the following:

> In the United States, Annapolis has the honor of having furnished the first silver money for small change. A goldsmith of this place coins on his own account through the consent of the government. After the depreciation of the paper money it became customary and necessary, throughout America, to cut the Spanish dollars in two, four and more pieces for change. This dividing became soon a profitable business in the hands of expert cutters, who knew how to cut five quarters, or nine and ten eights, out of a round dollar, so that shortly everyone refused to take this kind of money other-

Fig. 8. Revolutionary War Peace Medal–1783. Betts #614. (25mm) The reverse was a copy of a Continental Dollar reverse.

wise than by weight, or at discretion. To get over this embarrassment the said goldsmith assists in getting these angular pieces out of circulation, by taking them in exchange, with a considerable advantage to himself, for pieces of his own coinage.'[19]

Only a few of the "Rings" shillings are known today.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR
PEACE MEDAL—1783

The year 1783 also marked the diplomatic end of the Revolutionary War with Great Britain through the signing of the Treaty of Paris on September 3. A medal dated SEPT. 4, MDCCLXXXIII, was struck to commemorate the peace, and for its reverse a linked rings Continental Dollar reverse (Newman #C) was copied (Fig. 8). This is one of the reverses which depicted Massachusetts counterclockwise from New Hampshire, an error.[20] Struck in tin, these pieces are cruder than the Continental Dollars, and only a few exist today. Historical documentation concerning the medal is lacking, yet the intent of the obverse legends and devices is explicit enough. FELICITAS: BRITANNIA: ET: AMERICA translates "Happiness, Britain and America." A seated Britannia extends her hand toward an Indian Queen (personifying America), while between them flies a dove with an olive branch; London's St. Paul's Cathedral and the Monument are in the background.[21]

"WASHINGTON THE GREAT"
COPPER—THE "UGLY HEAD"

Another crude piece has been nicknamed the "Ugly Head" (Fig. 9). A very rare copper (two known), it portrays General George Washington in an unflattering manner on the obverse. The crude rendering left only 84 of the date in the central space on the reverse inside thirteen linked rings, some of

Fig. 9. Washington the Great D.G.–The "Ugly Head." Baker #8. 13 rings. (16.5mm)

which have the states' initials inside. Speculation on the Ugly Head's origin has ranged from Great Britain (struck for anti-American satirical purposes) to America (indicative of crude workmanship of the time). One of the two known examples resides in the Massachusetts Historical Society and has been counterstamped with the British Navy Arrow and Cross; the other is in the Smithsonian Institution.[22] A third example (this one cast in white metal) is in the famous Johns Hopkins University John W. Garrett Collection and will be auctioned this month with the remainder of the collection by a major American auction house.

UNITED STATES
INDIAN PEACE MEDAL

Yet another crude piece of the period is a large (74mm) Indian Peace Medal struck in copper which now resides in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (Fig. 10). Indian Peace Medals, sometimes given to chiefs by representatives of Kings George II and III and by early presidents of the United States, were tokens of friendship and good will, often used to honor a chief after the signing of a treaty. Many chiefs valued them as symbols of rank and importance.

On one side of this medal, the links appear chain-like for the first time, a departure from the rounded link. The significance of this alteration will be apparent later in the first United States large cent. The medal's links surround the Arms of the United States on which a large eagle is displayed. A shield argent, six pales gules, and a chief azure are shown on its breast; in its beak is held a scroll inscribed E PLURIBUS UNUM. In its left talon is an olive branch; in its right, thirteen arrows; over his head, a cluster of thirteen stars. The links were each to bear the name of a state, but many letters are missing now, perhaps due to wear or being double-struck. That it was an Indian Peace Medal is clear since the other side of the medal has a female figure on the right, probably representative of America, exchanging an olive branch and peace pipe with an Indian on the left.

It has been suggested that this was the

Fig. 10. United States Indian Peace Medal. 13 links. (74mm)
COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, NEW YORK

first Indian Peace Medal issued by the new United States government and that the dies for it were made by either Thomas Goadsby or Albion Cox, both of whom were connected with the New Jersey coinage of 1786-88. In a settlement of accounts presented for payment by Congress in 1790, Albion Cox was paid $140 through his assignee, Matthias Ogden (also connected with the New Jersey coinage), for "a pair of dyes made for the purpose of striking Indian medals...."[23]

THE FUGIO CENTS OF 1787

The first coins officially authorized by the United States government were the Fugio cents of 1787 (Fig. 11). Nineteenth century numismatists often called these copper pieces "Franklin cents" because of the longstanding tradition that he supplied the designs.

"A subject that claims our immediate attention," is how the Grand Committee of Congress report of May 13, 1785 termed the need for a copper coinage. Various proposals to help the government achieve this end were submitted, and in a report of April 9, 1787, five proposals were outlined. On April 21 a committee of three recommended "that the board of Treasury be authorized to contract for three hundred tons of copper coin of the federal standard, agreeably to the proposition of Mr. Jarvis. . ." and "that it be coined at the expense of the contractor, etc."[24] Jarvis had already surreptitiously obtained 12,890 pounds of the government's copper on January 16, 1787, three months before his coinage proposal was accepted because he had entered into a secret agreement with the dishonest Secretary of the Treasury, Colonel William Duer. Duer was to receive a $10,000 bribe for applying his influence toward the acceptance of the Jarvis proposal. Even once these two men had drawn up the contract for the delivery of the new coinage at a meeting on May 12, the Congress had not yet instructed what devices were to be used.[25]

The Board of Treasury, in a letter

Fig. 11. Fugio Cent–1787. 13 rings. (17.5 to 18mm) Devices were derived from the Continental Currency fractional notes and the Continental Dollar Pattern coins.

dated May 11, had presented seven devices for the consideration of Congress. The letter stated, "These devices are numbered from no. 1 to 7; and if any two numbers should be approved of by Congress we shall take measures to have the Contract executed in conformity to it." The Congress was unable to act on the matter until July 6 due to an insufficient number of members in attendance, but on that day a committee of three which had studied the devices in the May 11 letter recommended the selection of numbers 3 and 4 via the following:

> Resolved that the Board of Treasury direct the contractor for the copper coinage, to stamp on one side of each piece the following device, viz. *thirteen circles linked together,* each of which to bear the name of one of the States in the union; a small circle in the middle with the words "American Congress" flowing around it; and in the center of that circle the words "WE ARE ONE." On the opposite side of the same piece the following device to be stamped, viz. a Dial with the Hours expressed on the face of it; a meridian sun above; on one side of which is to be the word "Fugio," and on the other the year in figures "1787." Below the Dial, the words "Mind Your Business." [Italics added.]

The motion was amended with "Strike out from the word together to the words a small circle. Instead of American Congress say U.S. Strike out the word flowing."[26]

Thus for its first coin Congress chose designs directly derivative from the Continental Currency fractional notes and the Continental Dollar Patterns. There does exist a contemporary

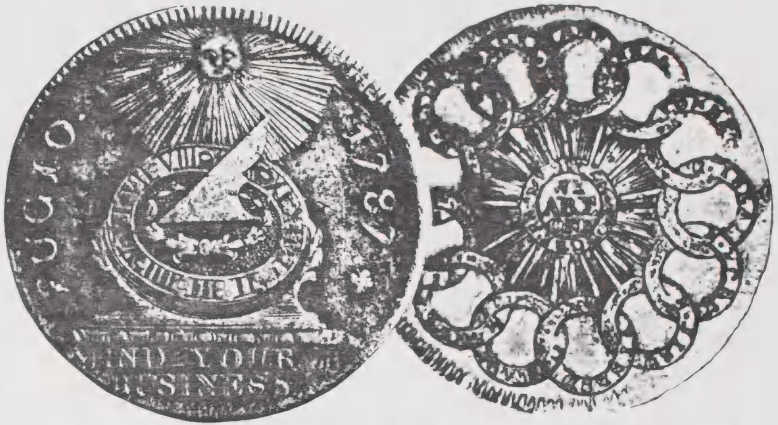


Fig. 12. Fugio Cent Pattern–reverse–Newman #1-CC. (17.5mm) The names of the states on the rings and the legend AMERICAN CONGRESS conformed to the original Resolution before it was amended.

pattern Fugio which conforms to the original Resolution before it was amended, Newman #1-CC (Fig. 12).[27]

Jarvis ran into financial difficulties and was unable to satisfy the delivery requirements of his contract. In fact, only one actual delivery of 8,968 pounds was made in May, 1788, of approximately 400,000 pieces. The agreement had been for Jarvis to follow a schedule of five deliveries of Fugios from December 1, 1787, to May 11, 1790.[28]

There is reason to believe that Jarvis had little to do with the actual striking since he was in Europe trying to secure financial backing much of the time. The Fugio dies were from master hubs made by Abel Buel with ornaments, letters, and numerals added later. They were probably struck by Samuel Broome, Jarvis' father-in-law, in New Haven, Connecticut. Broome's participation is of special interest since it was in the old Broome and Platt Store in New Haven that C. Wyllys Betts and/or Horatio Rust found some Fugio dies in 1858.[29]

The one and only delivery was not released to the public immediately but was held in the Treasury until July, 1789, when the entire lot was sold on credit to a New York speculator named Royal Flint. A subsequent copper "panic" occurred when New York and Philadelphia were flooded with lightweight counterfeit coppers in 1789. Now stuck with the Fugios which were going for only 62½ cents per hundred, Flint was unable to make his payments to the government and landed in debtors' prison.[30] That either he or others released the pieces is evident from the wear from circulation found on many today. Small portions of Flint's Fugio hoard were found in vaults of the Bank of New York in 1856 in a keg and again in 1926 in three cotton bags.[31] All were in mint condition, and these finds account for the regularity with which certain die varieties were encountered in high grades.

WASHINGTON INAUGURAL COMMEMORATIVE BUTTONS

A new government was established in 1789. The Constitution had been ratified, and the first President, Vice President, and Congress were elected. On February 4, as elections of senators

Fig. 13. Washington Inaugural Commemorative Button—ca. 1789. 13 rings. Albert #WI-44. (34mm)
COURTESY ALPHAEUS H. ALBERT

and representatives progressed in the various states, the sixty-nine electors cast their ballots for the first President of the United States. The new Congress was to have counted the electoral votes at its first meeting on March 4 but lacked a quorum due to apathy and the slow modes of travel available. Finally on April 6 a quorum was reached, the ballots counted, and Washington was unanimously elected, testimony to the high esteem in which he was held. Word of his election was sent to him and immediately he set forth for New York from Mount Vernon. Along the way he was greeted with a hero's reception. The inauguration took place on April 30 on the balcony of Federal Hall at the corner of Wall and Federal Streets.

The event was commemorated by contemporary metalsmiths who struck and cast a variety of buttons bearing legends and devices indicative of national unity and a profound admiration for George Washington. One such variety of button is termed the "Linked States Border Pattern" by American button historian Alphaeus H. Albert (Fig. 13). It employs the device of thirteen linked rings around its outermost circle with each link formed by a domed line and containing the initials of one of the thirteen original states. The states' initials are impressed in script letters in the standard north to south geographical order.[1]

The President's initials, GW are also impressed in script letters in the center circle and are surrounded by the inscription LONG LIVE THE PRESIDENT in raised capitals. A one piece button struck in brass or copper, this Washington inaugural button variety and the two variant types (one has three punch marks between each link, another the date 1776 added to the center area) are all very rare.

A DISPLAY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—1789, 1791, 1794, 1796

Amos Doolittle, a New Haven engraver of maps, prints, and book illustrations, chronicled the adoption of the Constitution and the election and inauguration of Washington as President through a series of "Displays of the United States of America." Each was a copper plate engraving on paper with watercolor added and came in an unusually large size of 20.6" high by 16.1" wide.[2] Presumably, these were made for sale to commemorate the historical events of the day, although only a few are known to exist today.

In each there is a bust of Washington in center surrounded by fourteen circles. These contain the Arms of the United States at 12:00 and the linked arms of the thirteen original states in the

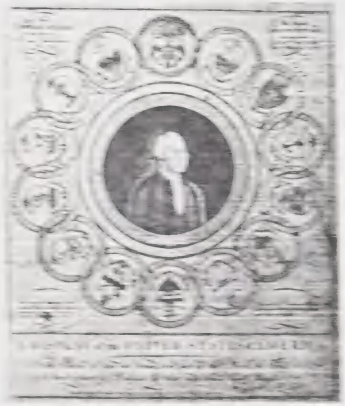


Fig. 14. Amos Doolittle's "Display of the United States of America." 1789-9. 13 rings. Hunt #3402. (Height 20.6", width 16.1")
THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY, BROWN UNIVERSITY

Fig. 15. Amos Doolittle's "Display of the United States of America"—1792. 13 rings. Hunt #3405. (Height 20.6", width 16.1")
THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY, BROWN UNIVERSITY

geographical arrangement. Students of the early American state coinages and currencies will find familiar symbolism in these arms. The borders of the links contain the state's name in full, its representation of senators and congressmen in the new Congress, and its total number of inhabitants.

The earliest example of the print has been dated 1788 or early 1789, before North Carolina and Rhode Island ratified the Constitution, because their representation is absent (Fig. 14). A later example is dated 1791 in a script flourish in the lower left. Increases in population figures are duly noted on each ring.

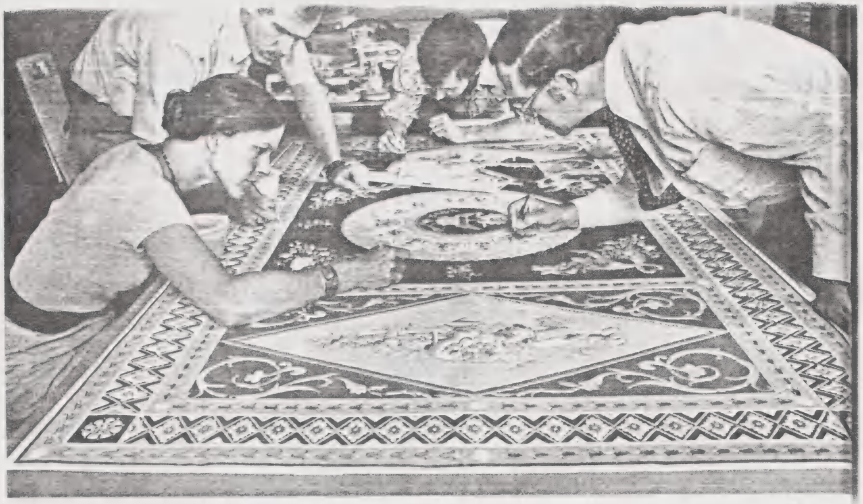


Figure 16

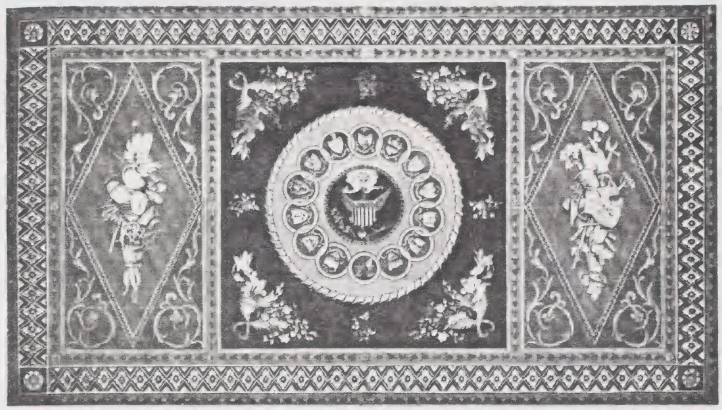
Curatorial Staff of Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, at work on a model of the U.S. Senate Chamber Carpet prior to its reconstruction and installation in Congress Hall. Note the linked rings motif in the center area.
COURTESY INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, PHILADELPHIA

and the new state of Vermont's number of inhabitants and representation are noted just outside the New York ring (Fig. 15). Washington's bust is no longer in civilian dress facing toward the right, but has been changed to full military uniform dress facing to left in profile. This representation resembles that on many Washington coins struck in the 1790's in England. It also bears a marked similarity to pattern half dollar pieces done by Peter Getz of Philadelphia in 1792. W.S. Baker in his *Medallic Portraits of Washington*, 1885, p. 10., felt that for a model Getz and the English coiners had used engravings published in Madrid in 1781 and in Paris and London in 1783 after a portrait of Washington drawn from life in the winter of 1778-79 by Pierre Eugene du Simitiere, a Swiss immigrant. Perhaps this engraving also served Doolittle as a model for the Displays of 1791. Getz may have even used a Doolittle engraving for his own model. Later examples are dated 1794 and 1796 with Kentucky and Tennessee added to inner circles of the Virginia and North Carolina rings respectively.

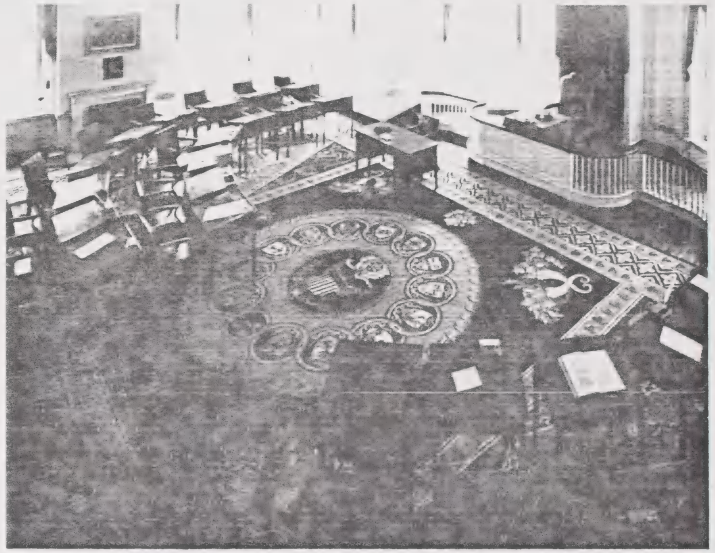
UNITED STATE SENATE CHAMBER CARPET, CONGRESS HALL, 1791

Between 1790 and 1800, both chambers of the Congress met in a Philadelphia building now called Congress Hall. Originally it was the Philadelphia County Court House, but it was converted and renovated to accommodate the Congress while the Federal City in the District of Columbia was being built. The loan was made possible through the generosity of the Philadelphia County Commissioners.

The Senate held its first session in Congress Hall in December, 1790, in the elegantly appointed courtroom on the second floor. To further furnish the Senate in luxurious surroundings, a huge carpet measuring 22 by 40 feet was added by June, 1791. In the disbursements made by the Commissioner of



U.S. Senate Chamber Carpet as reconstructed from contemporary accounts by staff of Independence National Historical Park. (22'6" wide x 39'9" long)
COURTESY INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, PHILADELPHIA



The U.S. Senate Chamber Carpet installed on the Senate floor of Congress Hall, Philadelphia.
COURTESY INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, PHILADELPHIA

the City and County of Philadelphia is found voucher No. 215 to "William P. Sprague, for 132½ Yds. Carpeting £156.12.6" for fitting the New County Court House (Congress Hall).[34]

A contemporary reporter described the new carpet at length:

> The Carpet made for the President, and others for various persons, are masterpieces of their Kind, particularly that for the Senate Chamber of the United States. The device wove in the last mentioned is the Crest and Armoreal Atchievements appertaining to the United States. Thirteen stars, forming a constellation, diverging from a cloud, occupy the space under the chair of the Vice-President. The AMERICAN EAGLE is displayed in the centre, holding in his dexter talon an olive branch, in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, and in his beak, a scroll inscribed with the motto E PLURIBUS UNUM. *The whole surrounded by a chain formed of thirteen shields, emblematic of each state.* [Italics added.]
>
> The sides are ornamented with marine and land trophies, and the corners exhibit very beautiful cornucopias, some filled with olive branches and flowers expressive of peace, whilst others bear fruit and grain, the emblems of plenty.
>
> Under the arms, on the pole which supports the Cap of Liberty, is hung the Balance of Justice.

The writer went on to add that the carpet had been "executed in a capital style, with rich bright colors...."[35]

The carpet was manufactured by hand-knotting at Sprague's Philadelphia Carpet Manufactury. The first senators were seated at their desks in two semicircular rows over the carpet. During this period they acted on much important legislation, and many historical events occurred. (To name only a few: the financial foundation of the country was formulated; a Federal Mint was established; Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee were admitted to the United States; the Jay Treaty was ratified; Washington was sworn in for a second term; and the news of his death was announced in 1799.)

Staff members at the Independence National Historical Park under Supervisory Curator John C. Millev have just completed a project of reconstructing the carpet based on contemporary accounts (Fig. 16). They have installed the reconstruction on the floor of the Senate Chamber of Congress Hall where it may be viewed.

UNITED STATES LARGE CENT—"CHAIN" TYPE—1793

An Act of Congress dated April 2, 1792, established a United States Mint which was to be founded in Philadelphia on the east side of Seventh Street, below Arch Street. The Mint is said to have been the first public building erected by the government of the United States.

Before the Act was passed by both houses, there had been considerable debate over the iconography to be used

Fig. 17. United States Large Cent–1793. 15 links. Sheldon #3. (16mm) The chain design on the reverse was unpopular with the public and was replaced the same year with a wreath design.

on the new coinage. The Senate favored a portrait of President George Washington and of subsequent presidents. The aforementioned pieces by Getz and others reflect some private desire to commercially satisfy this idea. However, after some debate the House felt the President's bust too monarchical a symbol for a new democracy, and amended the Senate bill to strike out the section calling for presidential portraits, substituting instead devices to be "Emblematic of Liberty with an inscription of the word LIBERTY."[36]

The first coins to be struck for circulation were the copper half cent and one cent pieces of 1793. The one cent pieces are known as "Chain" cents because of the chain of fifteen links in a tight pattern surrounding the words ONE CENT and the fraction 1/100 on the reverse (Fig. 17). As directed by the Congress, the obverse bears the date 1793, the legend LIBERTY, and a female personification of Liberty which was selected to represent the idea. The actual engraver of the dies is not recorded, although Chief Coiner Henry Voigt is often suggested since a Chief Engraver had not yet been appointed. On one variety the die-sinker ran short of space and was forced to abbreviate the reverse legend thus: UNITED STATES OF AMERI.; the difficulty was corrected on the later variety. The fifteen links accounted for the addition of Vermont and Kentucky as states.

The Chain cents were short-lived because of public opposition to the designs used. People felt the chain design was more suggestive of bondage than of liberty. One writer sought to make his opinions on the subject well known by sending the following to at least two newspapers where it was printed (*The Mail or Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, March 18, 1793, and *The Boston Argus*, Boston, March 26, 1793): "The American cents do not answer our expectation. The chain on the reverse is but a bad omen for liberty, and Liberty herself appears to be in a fright. May she not justly cry out in the words of the Apostle, 'Alexander the copper-smith hath done me much harm; the Lord reward him according to his works'?" (See II Timothy, IV., 14.) Alexander was a mocking reference to Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury.

The linked chain reverse was scrapped after only 36,103 pieces were struck. It was replaced with a wreath design the same year, and the obverse portrait of Liberty was reworked. The Chain cents were the only United States Mint products struck for circulation to use the motif of the links, albeit links of a chain, and marked the end of official American use of the design.

CHINESE EXPORT PORCELAIN AND MARTHA WASHINGTON'S "STATES" SET

The private sector continued to employ the linked rings motif in the last decade of the eighteenth-century and the first two of the nineteenth, notably in Chinese Export Porcelain and in Liverpool creamware made for the American market.

American vessels opened trade with China in 1783 because of a British Order of Council of July 2 which banned American trade from the West Indies.[37] Chinese porcelain-ware was among those products brought back from China and was a durable and useful product of the first trade relations between the United States and China. The chinaware, now termed Chinese Export Porcelain, was to bear hand-painted designs which were given with the order for the shipment and applied in special finishing factories in Canton, the only port open to foreign trade.[38]

Two examples are illustrated here, both bearing the linked rings motif. One, a punch bowl made for General Richard Humpton around 1800, has a bust portrait of Washington in its center along with the eagle badge of the Society of the Cincinnati (Fig. 18). The rings appear to have been modeled from those on the Continental Currency fractional notes.

The other is from the most famous set of Chinese Export Porcelain which was once owned by Martha Washington.

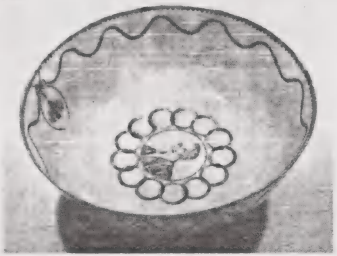


Fig. 18. General Richard Humpton Bowl, Chinese Export Porcelain, ca. 1798-1805. 13 rings. (Height 4 11/16", Diameter: base 5 1/2", to 11 5/16") Another example of rings derived from the Continental Currency fractional notes of 1776.
COURTESY HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

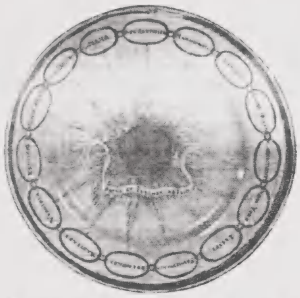


Fig. 19. Martha Washington's "States" China, dinner plate, Chinese Export Porcelain, 1796. 15 links. (9 1/4") The Washingtons were reminded of the design each time they used this set of china.
COURTESY OF THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION

The set was presented to her by A.E. van Braam Houckgeest in 1796 as a token of his respect and admiration. In Mrs. Washington's will is noted, "a set of tea China that was given me by Mr. Vanbram [sic] every piece MW on it." The set was bequeathed to her grandson, George Washington Parke Custis.[39]

Each piece of the set bore a design central to which was the linked states motif around the outer border (Fig. 19). The links were elliptical, chain-like, and had the fifteen states named within. Each was connected to the next with a smaller link, with the entire design surrounded by a serpent biting its tail, a symbol of eternity. In the center were the initials MW before the rising sun of the Republic, and on a red ribbon was the motto "Decus et Tutamen Ab Illo." (Translated from Latin: Honor and Defense come from it.)

LIVERPOOL CREAMWARE TRANSFER DESIGNS

Trade with China and also with England contributed to a specie scarcity in the United States. The recent hostilities did not prevent English merchants from capitalizing on the American market after the door to trade was opened by a British Order in Council on December 26, 1783, which permitted importation of American manufactured goods into Britain. In the year 1784 the United States exported to Britain goods valued at £749,345, compared to British imports of £3,679,467, nearly five times as great.[40]

Liverpool, England, quickly became the leading seaport handling trade with the United States and was a regular port-of-call for American ships on their way to Holland and France. Since the middle of the century, potters in Liverpool and other English districts (including Josiah Wedgwood and other Staffordshire potters) had been making a smooth, cream-colored earthenware, or creamware, onto which were applied transfer designs. The transfer process was accomplished by taking an image from an engraved copper plate onto soft linen paper which was then applied to the glazed surface of the pottery while the ink remained wet.[41]

The potters of this Queensware, known as Liverpool-ware in America, were quick to see the market opportunity presented by the American ships stopping in Liverpool. Beginning about 1785 they were using transfer designs intended to appeal to the American consumer. Patriotic American symbols, American naval vessels, and American military and political heroes were all used. As changing events in America required, the potters applied appropriate designs to commemorate them.

Naturally the device of linked rings did not go unnoticed by them, and many varieties were transferred, like the other patterns, onto pitchers, bowls, and mugs primarily. On several transfer patterns the rings were copied from the Continental Currency fractional notes of 1776 and surrounded variously by American eagles; figures of Liberty, Peace, and Plenty; or the arms of Virginia (Fig. 20).[42] Some have thirteen links, others fifteen and sixteen. On one example the engraver carelessly failed to link the South Carolina ring to the others as well as the Connecticut one to New York (Fig. 21). Adaptable to change, one engraver merely added Tenassee (sic) to the Kentucky link on an example having only fifteen links. On another example are the spellings Tenassee and Masachusetts, and just Hampshire for New Hampshire on another. Liverpool-ware variations from the circular links also include oval-shaped links and chains of wreaths.

After experiencing great popularity in the United States, Liverpool creamware suffered a decline in use with the War of 1812. It was eventually replaced by another import, dark blue historical Staffordshire.

LATER APPLICATION OF THE LINKED RINGS

The passing of the creamware signaled the end of contemporary use of the design of linked rings. The symbol had been a popular method to illustrate early American unity, or at least the desire to have such unity; but the continuous addition of new states probably became awkward and consequently the motif impractical to continue. Indeed, by 1821 twenty-four states belonged to the Union. In the contemporary fashion of adding new states, there exist an engraving dated 1804 with seventeen links and a watercolor from around 1815 with a grand total of twenty!

Later nineteenth-century applications were of a commemorative nature employing thirteen rings. These include the 1853 Bushnell Medal by C.C. Wright, the 1883 SI QUAERIS MONUMENTUM Washington medal, and the 1889 C.C. Wright Washington Inaugural Centennial medal, to name several. Reproductions were also made in the

Fig. 20. Liverpool Creamware transfer design, the Arms of Virginia in center. 13 rings. McCauley #263. (9 7/8") The rings are again similar to those found on the Continental Currency fractional notes.
COURTESY THE HENRY FRANCIS DU PONT WINTERTHUR MUSEUM

Fig. 21. Liverpool Creamware transfer design, the Arms of the United States in center. 15 rings. McCauley #152a. (9 13/16") Note the unlinked South Carolina ring at 9:00.
FIG. 21: GIFT OF MR. AND MRS. JOHN MAYER

nineteenth-century of the Washington Inaugural buttons, the Martha Washington "States" China, and the Continental Dollar Patterns (made for the 1876 Centennial). Additionally, a group of coins now called the New Haven Fugio restrikes were struck either from eighteenth or nineteenth century dies; research is still being conducted to determine the truth about them.

In the twentieth century there have been additional reproductions and uses of a commemorative vein. In a sentiment similar to the early Americans', the International Olympic Committee chose as its emblem a device of five interlaced rings in 1913.[43] The five rings were to represent the five parts of the world which belonged to the Olympic Movement.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the following individuals for their help in the preparation of this article: J.C. Spilman of the *Colonial Newsletter;* N. Neil Harris of *The Numismatist;* Jane Kolter and John C. Milley of the Independence National Historical Park; Jean Taylor Federico of the Daughters of the American Revolution Museum; Christine Meadows of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association; Jeannette D. Black of the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University; Eric P. Newman; Alphaeus H. Albert; Dr. E. McClung Fleming; William Copeley and Richard Frantz of the New Hampshire Historical Society; Arlene Palmer and E. McSherry Fowble of the Winterthur Museum; and my wife Judy for her steadfast support over the past four years.

Notes

1. Information in a letter to the author from Cornelius Vermeule of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, May 15, 1977.
2. F.S. Meyer, *Handbook of Ornament* (Chicago: Wilcox and Follet Co., 1946), p. 27.
3. Information in a letter to the author from John C. Milley, Supervisory Curator of Independence National Historical Park, August 6, 1976.
4. James Hodgson, "American Flags, Seals and Insignia; a Bibliography." (Tucson, Arizona: 1923), typed ms., p. 89.
5. See Eric P. Newman, "Poor Richard's Mottoes for Coins," *The Numismatist*, 69 (December, 1956), 1363-1367; Marianne F. Miller, "On Making Some Fugio Sense," *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, XXIII (July, 1957), 1265-1273; and Eric P. Newman, "Sources of Emblems and Mottoes," *The Numismatist*, 79 (December, 1966), 1587-1598.
6. See E.J. Theisen, "Reward Fails To Uncover Author of Fugio Cent," *The Numismatist*, 71 (January, 1958), 22; S.S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America*, 1875, p. 302; and *The Colonial Newsletter* (March-June 1966), p. 25.
7. "Offers Reward for Coin Design Information," *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, XXII (December, 1956), 2183.
8. Eric P. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America* (Racine, Wisconsin: Whitman Publ. Co., 1967), pp. 32-33.
9. Eric P. Newman, "The Continental Dollar of 1776 Meets Its Maker," *The Numismatist*, 72 (August, 1959), 915-926.
10. David T. Alexander, "Continental Dollar Defies Answers," *Coin World*, July, 1976.
11. Eric P. Newman, "The 1776 Continental Currency Coinage," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, 19, no. 4 (July-August, 1952), 4.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
13. Gherardi Davis, *Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution*, privately printed (New York: The Gilliss Press, 1904), p. 17.
14. Amos Tuck French, "The Regimental Colors of the Second New Hampshire Carried in the Revolutionary War," a paper read to the New Hampshire Historical Society, September 19, 1912, pp. 6-8, 11-14.
15. *New Hampshire Committee of Safety Records*, for July, 1777, p. 105.
16. Newman, *Early Paper Money of America*, p. 105-106.
17. Walter Breen, Pine Tree Auction Gallery Sale: The John Carter Brown Library-Part 2, May 2, 1976, lot 1552, p. 40.
18. William F. Perlitz, "John Chalmers, Issuer of the Annapolis Coinage," *The Numismatist*, 61 (November, 1948), 721-22.
19. Dr. John David Schopf, as quoted by Crosby, translated from the German by Joseph J. Mickley, p. 329-30.
20. Newman, "The 1776 Continental Currency Coinage," p. 6.
21. C. Wyllys Betts, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals* (New York: 1894), p. 299, Betts #614.
22. Don Taxay, *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Coins* (Omaha, Nebraska: Scott Publ. Co., 1970), p. 31.
23. Damon G. Douglas, "The First United States Indian Chief Peace Medal," *The Numismatist*, 58 (June, 1945), 689-693 and R.W. Julian, "The First Indian Peace Medal of the United States," ANS *Museum Notes*, no. 21 (1976), pp. 257-259.
24. Crosby, p. 297.
25. Damon G. Douglas, "James Jarvis and the Fugio Coppers," ms. publ. in *The Colonial Newsletter* (July, 1969), p. 23.
26. Ibid., (September, 1969), p. 33.
27. Don Taxay, "The Fugio Cents—Restrikes or Fabrications?" *Coins Magazine* (October, 1968), pp. 30-33.
28. Douglas, *James Jarvis, CNL* (September, 1969), p. 32, 35.
29. J.C. Spilman, "Comments on the Fugio Cents of 1787—The New Haven Restrikes," *The Colonial Newsletter* (December, 1968), pp. 39-44.
30. Douglas, *James Jarvis, CNL* (December, 1969), p. 49.
31. Alan Kessler, *The Fugio Coppers*, (Newtonville, Massachusetts: Colony Coin Company, 1976), p. 6.
32. Alphaeus H. Albert, *Political Campaign and Commemorative Buttons*, (Hightstown, New Jersey: 1966), pp. 9-10. The pieces mentioned are Albert #s WI 4-A, B, and C.
33. Charles Henry Hart, *Catalogue of the Engraved Portraits of Washington*, (New York: Grolier Club, 1904), p. 356.
34. Information in a letter to the author from John C. Milley, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, October 6, 1976.
35. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, (June 6, 1791). I wish here to thank John C. Milley and Jane B. Kolter of the Independence National Historical Park for permission to consult galleys from a new work about the carpet which contained much valuable information about it.
36. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States, Annals of Congress*, (Washington, D.C.: 1849), column 484-490.
37. Richard B. Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, Vol. 1, (New York: Harper & Bros. Publ., 1953), p. 112.
38. Jean McClure Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835*, (New York: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1962), p. 13.
39. *Mount Vernon China*, (Mount Vernon, Virginia: The Mount Vernon Ladies Assoc., 1962), pp. 23-24.
40. Morris, loc. cit.
41. Robert H. McCauley, *Liverpool Transfer Designs on Anglo-American Pottery*, (Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1942), p. 8.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44, 79-80, 85, 89, 107, 109, 117, 129. Liverpool creamware transfers with linked rings or ovals are McCauley numbers 38, 53, 152a, 152b, 154, 159, 182, and 263.
43. *Olympism*, (Lausanne, Switzerland: International Olympic Committee, 1972), p. 16.

Official United States Mint Report

AUGUST

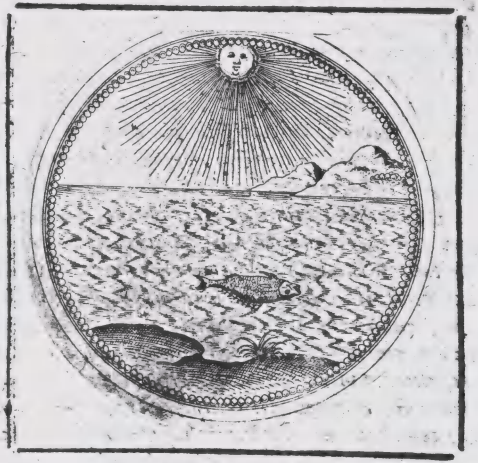
Denomination	Prev. Total	August Total	Total
Dollars (Anthony)	517,292,806	73,962,000	591,254,806
Half Dollars	44,708,000	2,793,900	47,501,900
Quarter Dollars	475,886,000	113,143,900	589,029,900
Dimes	271,882,000	71,833,900	343,715,900
Five-cent pieces	402,386,000	80,215,900	482,601,900
One-cent pieces	6,306,432,000	1,026,003,900	7,332,435,900
1979 Proof Sets (SF)	969,107	598,508	1,567,615
Bicentennial 40% Silver Proof Sets	34,324	13,138	47,462
Bicentennial 40% Silver Uncirc. Sets	22,134	53,464	75,598

Coinage Executed for Foreign Governments

San Francisco A.O.	Denomination	Prev. Total	August Total	Total
Dominican Republic	1 Peso	5,015	-0-	5,015
Dominican Republic	50 Centavos	5,015	-0-	5,015
Dominican Republic	25 Centavos	5,015	-0-	5,015
Dominican Republic	10 Centavos	5,015	-0-	5,015
Dominican Republic	5 Centavos	5,015	-0-	5,015
Dominican Republic	1 Centavo	5,015	-0-	5,015
Haiti	50 Centimes	-0-	2,000,000	2,000,000
New York A.O.				
Panama	1 Centesimo	-0-	10,000,000	10,000,000

XXXIV.

VIOLENTO ABSUMITVR ÆSTV.



En radii possint quid Solis, & æstus amoris,
Ut torrent pisces, torret at hic homines.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

Twenty Dollars.

No. 4432

TWENTY DOLLARS.

THIS BILL entitles the Bearer to receive TWENTY *Spanish milled* DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in *Gold* or *Silver*, according to the Resolutions of the CONGRESS, held at *Philadelphia*, the 10th of *May*, 1775.

Wm Jackson

THIRTY DOLLARS.

Philadelphia: Printed by *Hall* and *Sellers.*

THIRTY DOLLARS.

Philadelphia: Printed by Hall and Sellers.

XI.

CONCUSSA UBERIOR.

Maior in aduerſis virtutis gloria vera eſt:
Vberior venti Myrrha agitata fluit.

XXX.

FRAGRAT ADVSTVM.

Thura inodora manent, niſi ſole vel igne caleſcant:
Sic bene quo fragret, cor prece adure pia.

Occaſio-

XVII.

VENTIS IMMOTA SUPERBIT.

Ventorum adversis solidatur flatibus arbor:
A cruce & à precibus mens pia robur habet.

TWENTY DOLLARS.

Continental Currency.

Twenty DOLLARS

Printed by HALL and SELLERS,
in Philadelphia. 1775.

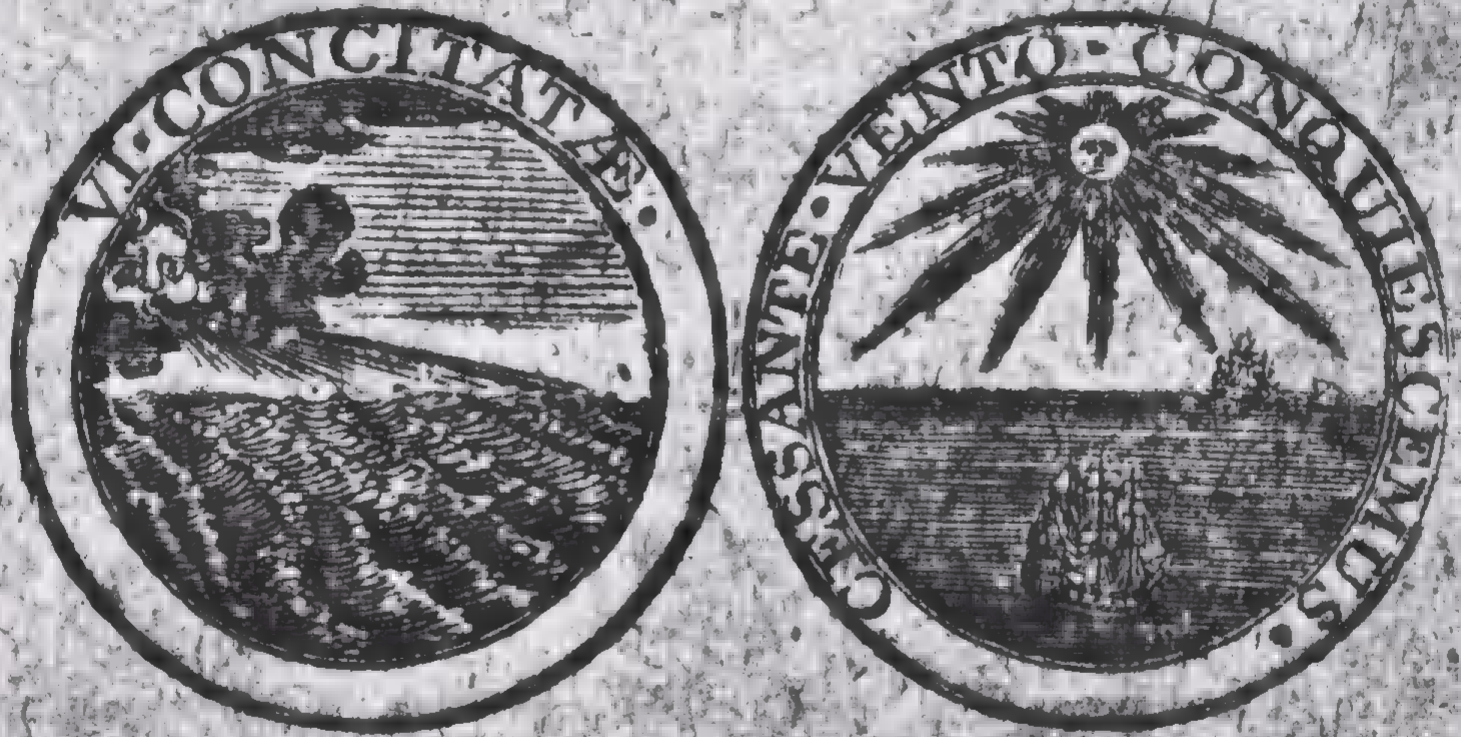
TWENTY DOLLARS.

Continental Currency.

Twenty DOLLARS

Printed by HALL and SELLERS,
in *Philadelphia.* 1775.

THIRTY DOLLARS.



Philadelphia: Printed by Hall and Sellers.

THE UNITED COLONIES

No. 320 66 Thirty Dollars.

This BILL *entitles the* Bearer *to receive* THIRTY Spaniſh milled DOLLARS, *or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Reſolutions of the Congreſs held at Philadelphia, May* 10, 1775.

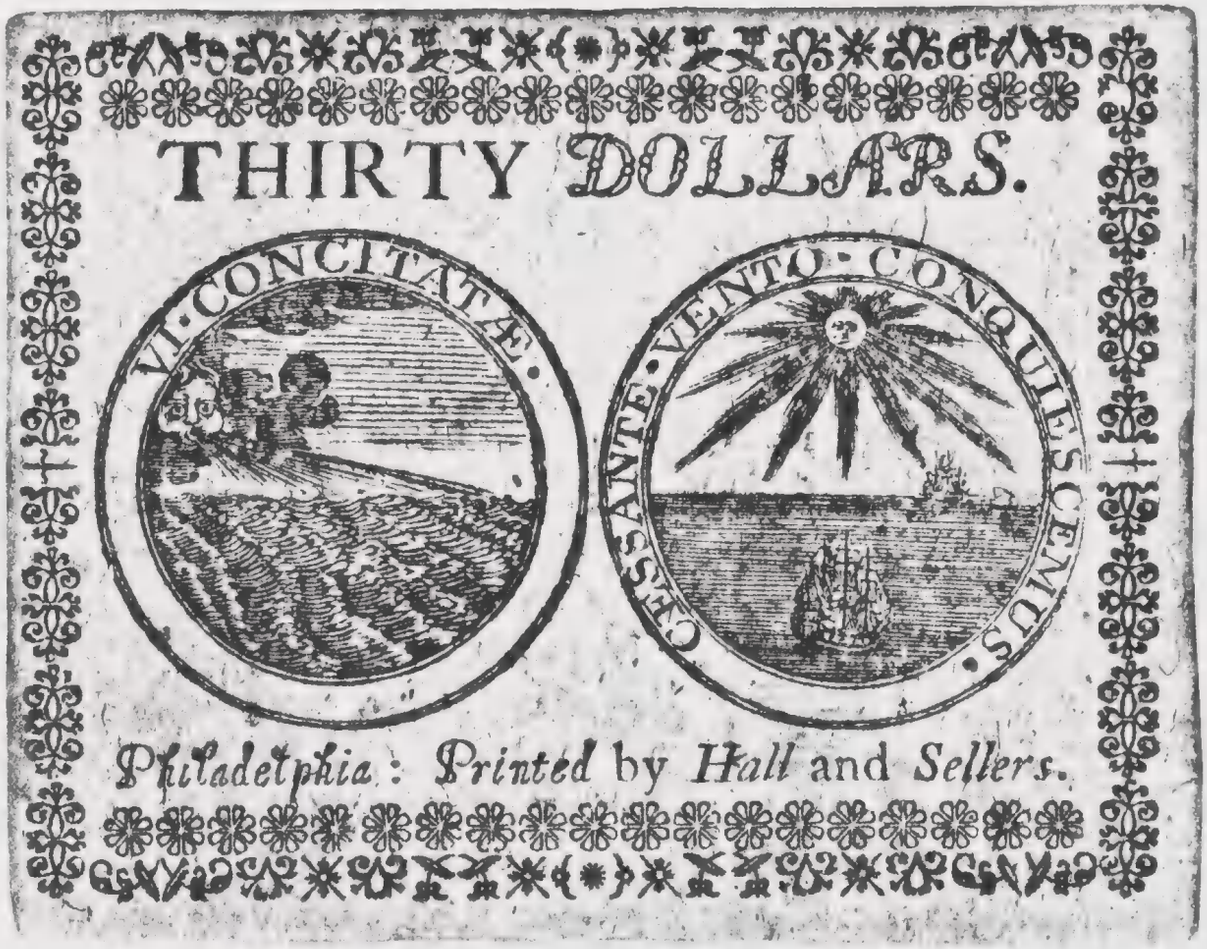
XXX DOLLARS.

James Read

THE UNITED COLONIES

Continental Currency. 30 Thirty Dollars XXX

Continental Currency. 30 Thirty Dollars XXX



The Franklin selected emblems on the back of the #30 Continental Currency of the May 10, 1775 accession issue.

THE UNITED COLONIES
No. 320 Thirty Dollars.
This BILL entitles the Bearer to receive THIRTY Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the Congress held at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775.
NI. RECTE. FACIES.
XXX DOLLARS.
James Read
Continental Currency
Thirty Dollars
1775

The Franklin selected emblems on the back of the #30 Continental Currency of the May 10, 1775 session issue.

Twenty Dollars.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

No. 4432

TWENTY DOLLARS.

THIS BILL entitles the Bearer to receive TWENTY Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the CONGRESS, held at Philadelphia, the 10th of May, 1775.

Wm Jackson

Md. Saml.

TWENTY DOLLARS.

Continental Currency.

Twenty DOLLARS

Printed by HALL and SELLERS, in Philadelphia. 1775.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

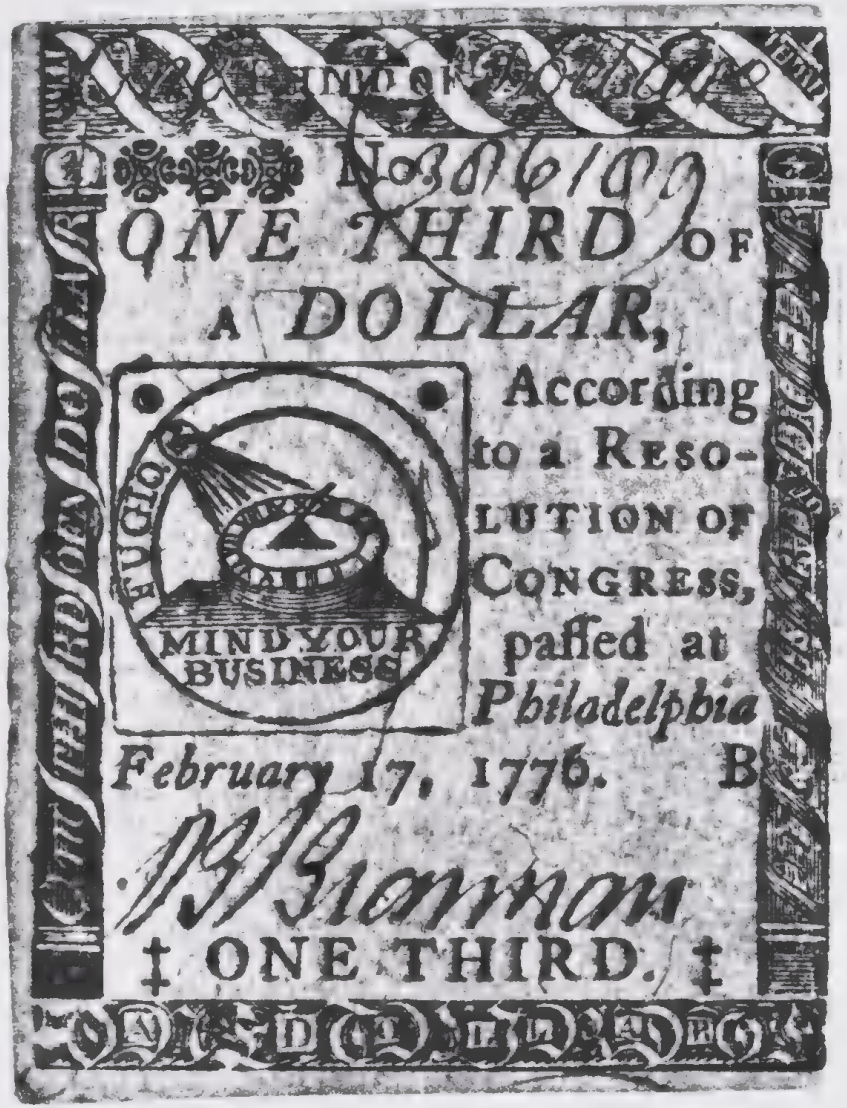
Twenty Dollars.

No. 4432

TWENTY DOLLARS.

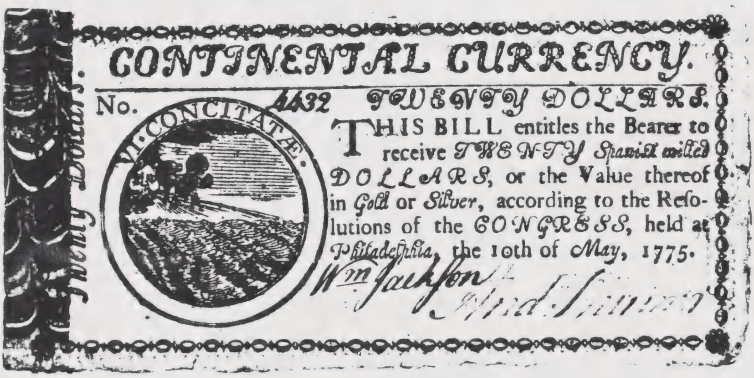
THIS BILL entitles the Bearer to receive *TWENTY Spanish milled DOLLARS*, or the Value thereof in *Gold* or *Silver*, according to the Resolutions of the *CONGRESS*, held at *Philadelphia*, the 10th of *May*, 1775.

Wm Jackson


No 3816199
ONE THIRD OF
A DOLLAR,
MIND YOUR BUSINESS
According to a Resolution of Congress, passed at Philadelphia February 17, 1776.
B Franklin
‡ ONE THIRD. ‡

One Third of a Dollar.
WE ARE ONE
Printed by Hall & Sellers, in Philadelphia. 1776.

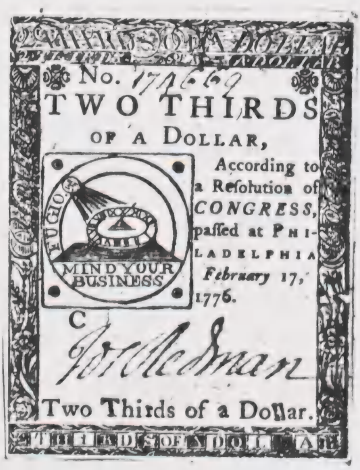
Camerarius emblem with the rays of the sun centered over a body of water

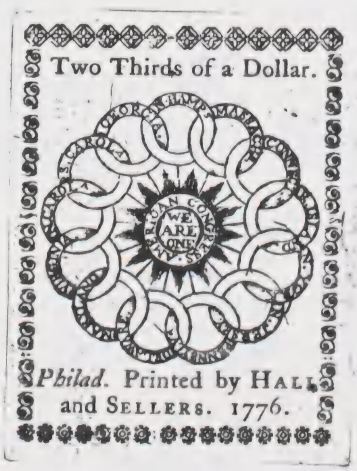

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.
No. 4432
TWENTY DOLLARS.
VI·CONCITATÆ·
THIS BILL entitles the Bearer to receive TWENTY Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the CONGRESS, held at Philadelphia, the 10th of May, 1775.
Wm Jackson
Twenty Dollars.

The Franklin selected emblems on the face and back of the #20 Continental Currency of the May 10, 1775 session issue.

Use the exposed portion for the illustration. Do not remove this shield

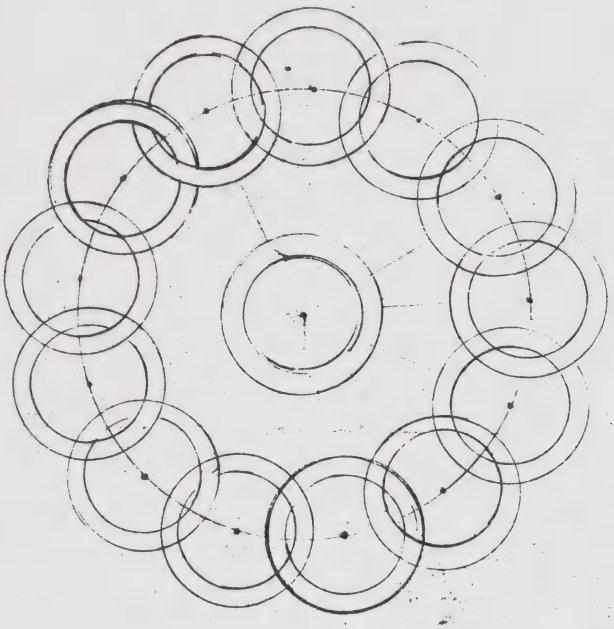
The reverse of the 1776 Continental Currency Dollar Coinage with the 13 link chain design.

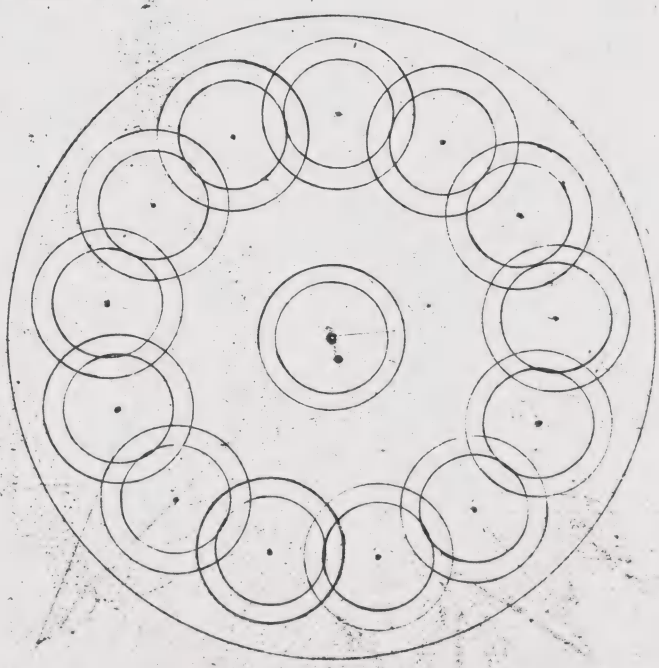

No. 17669
TWO THIRDS
OF A DOLLAR,
According to a Resolution of CONGRESS, passed at PHILADELPHIA February 17, 1776.
MIND YOUR BUSINESS
Two Thirds of a Dollar.



Title

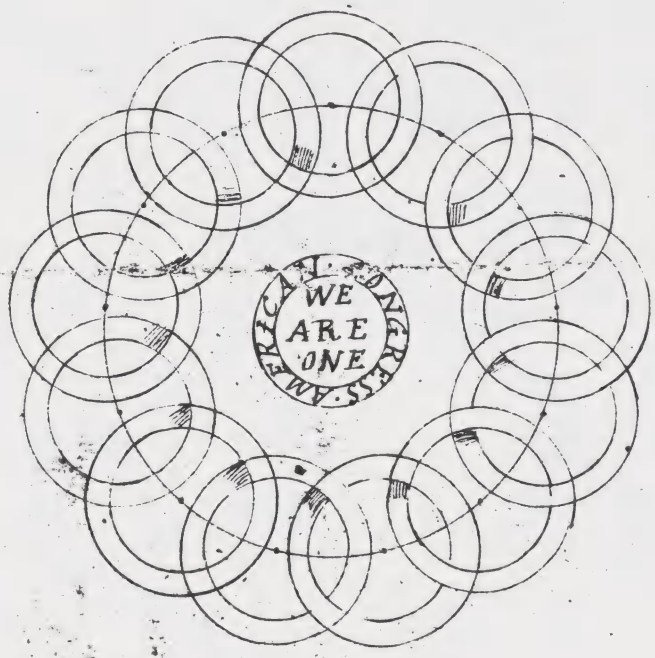
The February 17, 1776 Continental Currency #2/3 showing the 13 link chain design on the back





Use entire page for illustration

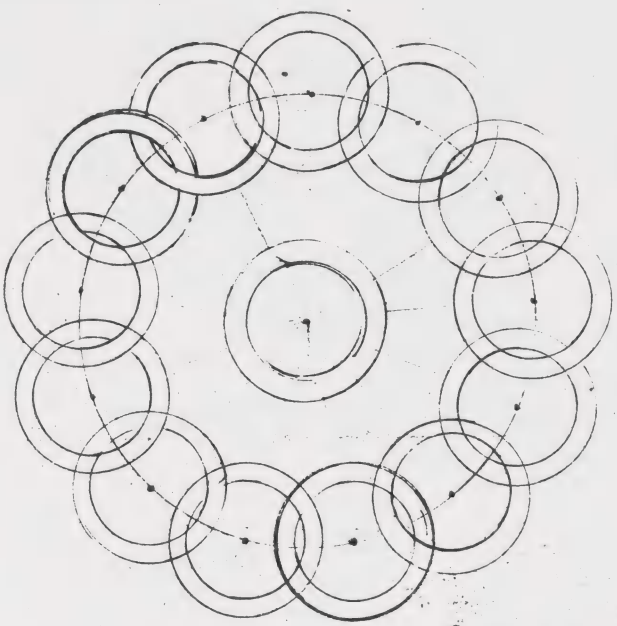
Title → Franklin's preliminary mechanical drawings of the 13 link chain design before the motto was inserted

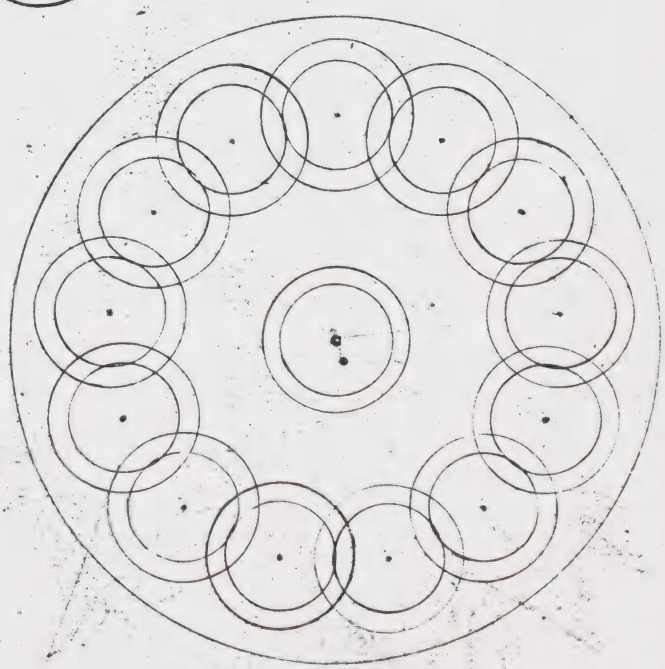


Title → Franklin's drawing of the 13 link chain design with the motto written in

Use entire page for illustration

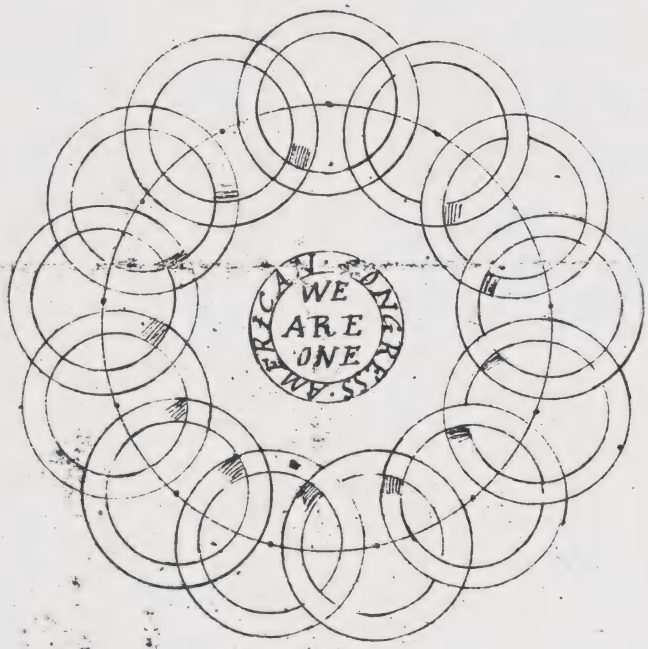
AMERICA WE ARE ONE





Use entire page for illustration

Franklin's preliminary mechanical drawings of the 13 link chain design before the motto was inserted


AMERICAN CONGRESS
WE
ARE
ONE

VI VENTORUM CONFLATA
Another Motto
Cessante Vento, conquiescimus
42. 0. 0
13. 8. 9
1. 1. 6
56. 10. 3
75. —. —
121. 18. 3
199. 18. 3
Ready to receive Irish Woollens whenever
by such & such restrictions Method of trading shall be free of all
Imposition
Resolve — Not to treat separately
Resolve concerning the Power of Parliament to
alter Constitutions —
Difference has been whether we shall give
our Money, or have it taken from us by
Force, contrary to our Rights

Title

Franklin's emblem and motto sketch and other notations on the back of his draft of trade resolutions

Val. entire for illustration

Another Motto
Cessante Vento, conquiescimus

42. 0. 0.
13. 8. 9.
1. 1. 6.

116. 10. 3.
45.

121. 18. 3

199. 17. 3.

Ready to receive Irish Woollens whenever
My Sub's question Method of sending them, free of all
Imposition
Resolve — Not to treat separately
Resolve concerning the Power of Parliament to
alter Constitutions —

Difference has been whether we shall give
our Money, or have it taken from us by
Force, contrary to our Right.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
Franklin Papers
50 ii, 45

AMERICAN
PHILOSOPHICAL
SOCIETY

Franklin Papers
L(i), 22

49,000
36
294,000
1470,000
1764,000
9236,000
2000,000

16 24,500

49,000
36
294,000
147,000
1764,000
D236,000
2,000,000

16 24,500

Table — Franklin's calculations of the dollar total and the number of sheets of paper needed for printing the first proposed currency issue of the Continental Congress

Issue with numbers on it only

this is folded in half

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Franklin Papers
L(i), 22

16' 24,500

49,000
36
294,000
1470,00
17664,000
52236,000
2000,0000

Another Motto
Cessante Vento, conquiescimus

Ready to receive Irish Woollens whenever
they shall ascertain Methods of sending them, free of all
Imposition

Resolve — Not to treat separately

Resolve concerning the Power of Parliament to
alter Constitutions — Lord Chatham

Difference has been whether we shall give
our Money, or have it taken from us by
Force, contrary to our Rights

Title

Franklin's emblem and motto sketch and other notations on the back of his draft of trade resolutions

Use sheet entire for illustration